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THE LIVES OF THE POPES

VOL. VII.

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Photo, Vincenzo Catauco, Salerno.

St. Gregory VII.
(Statue in his Chapel at Salerno.)

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THE
LIVES OF THE POPES
IN THE MIDDLE AGES

BY THE

REV. HORACE K. MANN

"De gente Anglorum, qui maxime familiares Apostolicæ Sedis semper existunt" (*Gesta Abb. Fontanel. A.D.* 747–752, ap. M.G. SS. II. 289).

HEAD MASTER OF ST. CUTHBERT'S GRAMMAR SCHOOL, NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE
CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF HISTORY OF SPAIN

THE POPES OF THE GREGORIAN RENAISSANCE

ST LEO IX. TO HONORIUS II.

1049–1130

VOL. VII.—1073–1099

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To

HIS ALMA MATER

ST CUTHBERT'S COLLEGE, USHAW

THIS VOLUME

Is respectfully Dedicated

BY

A GRATEFUL SON

216627

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A LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS VOLUME.

Jaffé, or Regesta . .	=	*Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. Jaffé, 2nd ed., Lipsiæ, 1885.
Labbe	=	*Sacrosancta Concilia*, ed. Labbe and Cossart, Paris, 1671.
L. P., *Anastasius*, or the *Book of the Popes*	=	*Liber Pontificalis*, 2 vols., ed. L. Duchesne, Paris, 1886.
M. G. H., or Pertz .	=	*Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*, either *Scriptores* (M. G. SS.) or *Epistolæ* (M. G. Epp.) or *Poetæ* (M. G. PP.).
P. G.	=	*Patrologia Græca*, ed. Migne, Paris.
P. L.	=	*Patrologia Latina*, ed. Migne, Paris.
R. I. SS.	=	*Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, ed. Muratori, Milan, 1723 ff.
R. S., following an edition of a book	=	The edition of the Chronicles, etc., published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls.

The sign † placed before a date indicates that the date in question is the year of the death of the person after whose name the sign and date are placed.

The sign * placed before the title of a book indicates that the author of these volumes has seen the book in question well spoken of, but has not had the opportunity of examining it himself.

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NOTE.

THE latest work in English on Gregory VII. is *The Life and Times of Hildebrand*, by the Right Rev. A. H. Mathew, D.D., London, 1910. It appeared too late to be used for the present work. This is the less to be regretted seeing that it is not founded on the original sources, but consists largely of direct translations from well-known modern authors, and hence is not nearly so valuable as most of the other works we have cited. It is, however, suitably illustrated, contains a useful translation of Gregory's famous letter to Hermann, Bishop of Metz, and views the great pontiff not altogether unsympathetically, but from a very different standpoint to the one taken up in this volume.

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ST. GREGORY VII.

A.D. 1073–1085.

Sources.—The most valuable source for the biography of this glorious Pontiff is his Register.[1] Unfortunately, we have only a series of excerpts, and that too an incomplete one, from his original Register. Like the great majority of the papal Registers from Gelasius I. to Innocent III., this one has been lost at some unknown period, very probably during the disorders of the tenth and eleventh centuries, or, possibly, during the wanderings of the papal archives when the Popes went to Avignon in the fourteenth century. As it exists at present in the Vatican archives, Gregory's Register contains three hundred and fifty-four letters divided into eight books. Of these the first seven books correspond with the first seven years of his pontificate; but the eighth book is composed of letters which belong not only to the eighth, but also to some of the other later years of his pontificate. Especially then for the last four years of his reign, the existing Register almost entirely fails us. The first seven books were extracted from the complete Register by the order apparently of Gregory himself; and it seems more than likely that the existing eleventh century MS. was inspected by him. This was perhaps done after Guibert of Ravenna had been proclaimed antipope, and in the year 1081, between the two sieges of Rome by Henry IV. At this juncture Gregory had only spiritual and intellectual arms to rely on, and this collection was compiled to serve as one of the weapons in that canonical armoury which was established in this age, and which was employed with no little effect in the struggle for the

[1] *Cf.* on *Papal Registers*, vol. i. pt. i. p. 304 ff. of this work.

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liberty of the Church and of the Papacy. Fortunately, as in the case of the Register of St. Gregory I., the personal note is strong in that of Hildebrand, and enables us to judge what manner of man he was who wrote it.[1]

Through the literary impulse given by Gregory to many of those around him, there was formed quite a school of canon lawyers,[2] whose fundamental tenets regarded the paramount position of the Roman Pontiffs in the Universal Church. Working among the pontifical archives in the Lateran and in the Turris Cartularia, these writers have preserved for us not a few papal letters. From their volumes and from other sources, Jaffé[3] was able to add fifty-one letters of Gregory to those preserved in his Register; and no fewer than eighty-three are found appended to Migne's edition of the Register.[4]

Mention has already been made of the principal authors who have left us writings for or against Gregory. To those already mentioned we must add Paul Bernried. Paul, a German, called *of Bernried* (in the diocese of Augsburg) because he took refuge there from the persecution of Henry V., and there penned his valuable, if somewhat wordy, biography of Gregory, was ordained priest in 1120. Two years later he went to Rome, and, fascinated by the career of Gregory VII., not only obtained information regarding him from all sorts of persons, from the Pope

[1] Du Pin (*A New Hist. of Eccles. Authors*, ii. 230; Dublin, 1724) says very truly of them: "They are penned with a great deal of eloquence, full of good matter, and embellished with noble and pious thoughts; and we boldly say that no Pope since Gregory I. wrote such strong and fine letters as this Gregory did."

[2] Such were Bonizo of Sutri; Deusdedit, the anonymous author of the collection *Anselmo dicata*; Anselm of Lucca, who calls himself the diligent imitator and disciple of Gregory, and says that it was through his orders that he undertook his collection; the Roman priest Gregory, Ivo of Chartres, Gratian, Albinus, etc. *Cf.* Pitra, *De Epp. Rom. Pont.*, 134 ff.

[3] His edition of this Register is the best: *Monumenta Gregoriana*, ed. P. Jaffé, Berlin, 1865. It is the second vol. of his *Bibliotheca rer. Germ.*, and is the one here cited. Migne's ed., ap. *P. L.*, t. 148. The Paris ed. (1877) of Gregory's works, in two vols., is very useful, because most of what concerns him is there brought together.

[4] *Cf.* Pitra, *l.c.*, p. 129 ff.; Jaffé, i. 594 ff.; Rocquain, *La Papauté au Moyen Age*, p. 371 ff.

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(Calixtus II.) downwards, but also closely studied his Register. In pursuing his inquiries into the life of Gregory, Paul would appear to have been most struck by his personal holiness, and his biography is full of stories of miracles which he had been given to understand had been wrought by the holy Pope. Returned to Bernried, he set himself to write a biography of his hero. It was completed in 1128, and, if wanting on the side of critical discrimination, is well founded, trustworthy, and dramatic.[1] It may be read ap. Watterich, i. 474 ff.; *P. L.*, t. 148; *R. I. SS.*, iii. pt. i.

The biography in the *Liber Pontificalis*,[2] which used, on wholly insufficient grounds, to be attributed to Cardinal Petrus Pisanus, is the work of an anonymous author, and consists of extracts from Gregory's Register, with a few additions drawn from tradition or local annals.[3]

In the year 1082, Bruno, a cleric of Magdeburg, offered to Werner, bishop of Merseburg, a history of the Saxon war from 1073–1081, which he tells us he had compiled "with brevity and truth, as far as he could, from the narratives of those who took part in it." His style is at once simple and vivid, and, writing as a strong patriot, he does not spare Henry IV., and puts his country before Gregory VII., of whom he only speaks in as far as he came in touch with the war. His *De bello Saxonico* may be read, ap. *M. G. SS.*, v.; *P. L.*, t. 147; or *Script. rer Germ.*, in usum schol.

Of all the chroniclers of the Middle Ages who wrote of all times and places (universal chroniclers), the best, Sigebert of Gemblours, or Gembloux (*c.* 1030–1112), was a contemporary of Gregory VII. Most of his life was spent in the abbey of Gemblours, in the diocese of Namur; but he presided for some time over the monastery of St. Vincent at Metz. Justly regarded as an "ever-flowing fount of wisdom," he was the author of several *Lives* of different saints; of some very strong pamphlets against Gregory VII. and the Papacy, and in favour of the imperial party; and, lastly, of a famous chronicle (formerly known as *Chronicon Urspergense*), which, starting with the year 381, was brought down by Sigebert himself to 1111, and by others after him to 1186.

[1] The account of this author in Ceillier, xiii. 373, is not accurate.
[2] *Cf.* vol. iii. p. 431 f. of this work.
[3] *L. P.*, ii. p. xxxii.

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His *Chronica*, with its continuations, has been well edited, ap. *M. G. SS.*, vi., and thence, ap. *P. L.*, t. 160. Sigebert's antipapal bias is generally acknowledged.

Another "universal chronicler," the monk Hugh of Flavigny (Burgundy), was a contemporary of Gregory. Though prolix and rather disorderly and inaccurate, sometimes not faithfully transcribing the documents he quotes, he is an authority of very considerable importance, not only for the history of his own neighbourhood, but also for that of the empire and the Papacy. Born about the year 1065, he died sometime after 1102, the year at which his chronicle (ap. *M. G. SS.*, viii.; *P. L.*, t. 154) terminates. Unlike Sigebert, he is, like the great majority of his order, a supporter of the Popes and reform.

Henry IV. of Germany died in 1106. Not long after his death, his biography was written by an unknown hand, and not, as was formerly believed, by Otbert, bishop of Liège (†1117). Though remarkable for the elegant style in which it is written, it is often inaccurate, and always a panegyric. From *M. G. SS.*, xii., it has been re-edited by Eberhard "in usum Scholarum," Hanover, 1899.

The historian may also glean some facts regarding the life of Gregory from some of the controversial works on clerical continence, investiture, and the rights of the Church and State which the strong measures and lofty stand taken by Gregory called into being. Those from which we shall quote were written either during his lifetime or within a year or two after his death. Such sources must be used with great care, because some at least of their authors, after the manner of their tribe, easily accepted as true any story that would serve their purpose. Of the controversialists who wrote in favour of Gregory and his ideas, mention may here be made of Gebehard, archbishop of Salzburg (†1088), Bernald of St. Blaise (†1100), Manegold of Lautenbach († soon after 1103), Bonizo of Sutri (†1089), Anselm of Lucca (†1086), and Cardinal Deusdedit († *c.* 1098). With the exception of the last named, every one of them suffered exile for the cause in behalf of which he wrote, and Bonizo even suffered death.

Among those who advocated the pretensions of Henry we may name, in the first place, Petrus Crassus. He was a layman and a jurist of Ravenna, and at the request of Henry compiled his *Defensio Heinrici regis*, which he offered to the king in 1084.

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To establish the "justice and equity" of Henry's autocratic claims, he not unnaturally made much use of the imperialistic legislation of Justinian.

It was at the instigation and in the *name* of Theodoric, bishop of Verdun, who changed his views on the respective rights of Pope and emperor as often as the chameleon changes its colours, that Wenric, *scholasticus* of Trier, wrote his *Epistola Hilthebrando Papæ* (*c.* 1080). It was written during one of the periods when Theodoric (Thierry) thought with the king.

Guido (Wido, †1092) obtained from the schismatics the bishopric of Ferrara, and wrote (1086) in their behalf: *De scismate Hildebrandi.*

Cardinal Beno[1] fell away from Gregory during the stress of the siege of Rome (1084), and wrote several libellous pamphlets against his former master.

In these leading traits of his life he had worthy imitators in Benzo, the schismatical bishop of Alba, and in Cardinal Hugo Candidus.

To Walram, bishop of Naumburg, is ascribed by many the abusive work, *De unitate ecclesiæ conservanda*,[2] which appeared about 1091. In estimating the character of Gregory, it is but natural that the evidence of men who have suffered for a cause should be preferred to that of men who have reviled the master they have deserted, and earned profit from the one to whose interests they have attached themselves, or to that of men who have never been sure of their own minds.

Modern Works.—Innumerable authors have written of Gregory in all languages. The first to do him justice was the non-Catholic German historian Voigt. Jager's French translation of Voigt's famous monograph is the one here cited, *Hist. du Pape Grégoire VII.*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1842. Another non-Catholic remarkably impartial biography of Hildebrand is Bowden's *Life and Pontificate of Gregory the Seventh*, 2 vols., London, 1840.

[1] "We are at one with most historians in refusing to attach any weight to his assertions." Rocquain, *La Papauté*, p. 85 n.

[2] Most of the controversial works for or against Gregory which appeared in his age are to be found in one or other of the three vols. of *Libelli de lite impp. et pontiff. sæcc. xi. et xii. conscripti* in the *Mon. Germ. Hist.* series.

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The work of A. F. Villemain on Gregory has been translated into English (*Life of Gregory VII.*, London 1874, 2 vols.), but is nothing like so valuable as Bowden's biography. A clear and useful little work is *Hildebrand and his Times*, W. R. Stephens, London, 1888.[1] Of Catholic writers we have used Montalembert, *Monks of the West*, ed. Edinburgh, 1879, vols. vi. and vii.; Delarc, *St. Grégoire VII.*, 3 vols., Paris, 1889—a work of the first importance—and Trama, *Storia di S. Gregorio VII.*, Roma, 1887. This last voluminous work professes to furnish a number of fresh documents; but to its bulky contents there is an entire absence of all guides in the shape of index, table of contents, etc., and most, at least, of the documents quoted in it had been previously edited. *La querelle des investitures dans les diocèses de Liège et de Cambrai*, by A. Cauchie, 2 parts, Paris and Louvain, 1890–1891, contains much that is important for the general history of the famous quarrel besides what is of merely local interest.

Such biographies as Tosti's *La Contessa Matilde*, Firenze, 1859,[2] are, of course, of great help towards a full understanding of the career of Gregory.

EMPERORS OF THE EAST.

Michael VII. (Ducas), 1067–1078.
Nicephorus III. (Botaniates), 1078–1081.
Alexius I. (Comnenus), 1081–1118.

(For the other contemporary sovereigns see under Alexander II., vol. vi. p. 262.)

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[1] F. Rocquain's *La cour de Rome et l'esprit de réforme avant Luther* (Paris, 1893) opens with a very excellent outline of Gregory's relations with the Church and the empire, to which very little can be objected from a Catholic point of view. The same author's sketch of Gregory VII. in his *La Papauté au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1881) is, I think, less just to him. He attributes to that great Pope a deliberate, if well-meant, intention of subjecting all temporal and spiritual power to himself.

[2] Of the latest English *Lives* of the great countess, that by Mrs. Huddy is of no historical value whatever; but *Matilda of Tuscany*, by Nora Duff, London, 1909, is a most useful addition to the English historical literature of the period. See also *Matilda of Tuscany* in the *Dublin Review* (July 1906, p. 38 f.), by Viscount Llandaff.

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CHAPTER I.

HILDEBRAND BEFORE HE BECOMES POPE.

THE man whose genius, zeal, and piety were to be so powerfully instrumental in effecting the greatest and most enduring reformation of manners ever effected in Europe from within the Church itself was, like most of the great men of the world, a man of the people.[1] The birth and parentage of Hildebrand

In passing through what are now the Tuscan malaria plains, through what may be called the Tuscan *Maremma*, the train from Grosseto to Rome stops at the little port of Orbitello. Not many miles inland from this once famous town is another, Soana (Sovana), which also in days gone by held up its head among the cities of medieval Tuscany. Now it is but a ruinous village in the fever-stricken valley of the Fiora. Near it was the hamlet of Rovaco, and there, apparently during the pontificate of Benedict VIII., and possibly in the year 1020, the wife of Bonizo[2] gave birth to a son.[3]

A writer[4] who was himself inconvenienced by the heat caused by the Gregorian reformation has told us that, when

[1] William, abbot of Metz, writing to Gregory (ap. Watterich, i. 740), speaks of him as "virum de plebe," whom God set over His people. Benzo (ap. *M. G. SS.*, xi. 660) would make his father a goatherd (*matre suburbana, de patre caprario*); a poorer authority (*Annalista Saxo*, twelfth century) would make him a carpenter.

[2] The diminutive of Bonipert. "Diminutives of Lombard names ending in *iso* instead of *bert* are peculiar to Italy in the eleventh century." Gregorovius, *Rome*, iv. pt. i. p. 168.

[3] "Ildebrandus, natione Tuscus, de opido Raouaco, ex patre Bonizo." *L. P.*, ii. 282. *Cf.* Bernried, c. 1.

[4] Anon. Haserensis, *De epp. Eichstet.*, cc. 3 and 7, ap. *P. L.*, t. 146.

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Hildebrand was "archsubdeacon" of the Roman Church he was seen by St. Leo IX., with his cloak (*cappa*) all on fire, and flames issuing from it in all directions. The saint thereon with prophetic soul exclaimed: "If ever you are Pope, which God forbid, you will set the whole world in a blaze." The parents too of the future archsubdeacon, as though also forecasting his destiny, gave him a name, Hildebrand, of which one part at least is indicative of fire, and which his friends decided to mean "a burning of concupiscence," [1] and his enemies a "brand of hell" (Hoellebrand).[2]

Legends connected with his early years.

From the many legends connected with fire which Paul found interwoven with the story of Hildebrand's early years, he compared him to the prophet Elias. Sparks of fire were, he says, often seen to spring from his clothes,[3] and on one occasion flame was observed to issue from his head. Hildebrand himself is said to have seen fire coming

[1] Bern. (c. 1), reading *Hiltebrand* or *Hillibrand*, and taking *hilli* for *willi*, is responsible for this interpretation. *Cf.* Watterich, i. p. 474 n. *Brand* unquestionably means a torch, and sometimes indeed a sword; but the force of *hild* does not seem to be certain. According to some it denotes combat; according to others joy or light (Delarc, i. 395). Grotius gives "fiercely burning" as the meaning of Hildebrand. *Cf. R. I. SS.*, i. pt. i. 375.

[2] Impii . . . eum . . . infernalem titionem (not "ditionem" as in Watterich) vocaverunt." Paul, c. 4. *Cf.* Montalembert, *Monks*, vi. 459 n.

[3] Strange to say, even Gregory's most unprincipled adversary, Beno (*Gesta Rom. Eccles.*, ii. 6), tells us that Hildebrand could make sparks fly from his clothes: "Qui cum vellet, manicas suas discutiebat, et in modum scintillarum ignis dissiliebat: et his miraculis oculos simplicium velud signo sanctitatis ludificabat." That in his youth he gave remarkable promise of future greatness is also asserted in the letter of Wenric, the *scholasticus* of Trier, which was written (1081) at the instigation of that extraordinarily changeable man Theodoric, bishop of Verdun (1047–1088). "Pueritiam vestram non absque *aliquibus* quæ vos procul dubio illustrem, futurum . . . portenderent *signis*." He then speaks of his youth spent "non sine magnis perfectionis indiciis." Ep. Wen., c. 1, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, i. 285.

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from his mouth which consumed the whole earth; and when, as Pope, he had on Maunday Thursday consecrated the holy oils at the famous abbey of Nonantula, they were suddenly ignited by a bright flame which fell from heaven. Finally, appealing to the chronicles of venerable men,[1] Bernried assures us that Gregory extinguished by the sign of the cross a conflagration which Henry IV. had caused when he was besieging Rome, and which was driving their defenders from the city walls.

Another pretty legend tells how, while still ignorant of letters, the little Hildebrand, playing in his father's workshop, is said to have formed with the shavings he found there the words of the Psalmist: *Dominabor a mari usque ad mare*, "I will rule from sea to sea"[2] (Ps. lxxi. 8).

Little known of his early years.

Even if we include all the data of legend, very little is known of Hildebrand till his coming to Rome with St. Leo IX. It would appear that he was sent there, in the first instance, whilst still a child, during the pontificate of John XIX., for we are told that he had been trained in Rome under ten of his predecessors.[3] And when in 1075 he wrote[4] himself that he had been living in Rome for twenty years under compulsion, we may suppose that, bearing in mind his leaving Rome with Gregory VI., and his comparatively long period of absence from the eternal city during the reign of St. Leo IX., he must have been speaking of the second period of his practically continuous

[1] Bernald, *Chron.*, 1082, ap. *P. L.*, t. 148.

[2] *Annalista Saxo* (wrote *c.* 1150), an. 1074.

[3] "Qui sub decem suis antecessoribus a puero Romæ nutritus et eruditus." *Micrologus de ecclesiasticis observationibus*, c. 14, ap. *P. L.*, t. 151. Bernald of St. Blaise is possibly the author of this valuable liturgical work.

[4] "Quam (Rome) coactus . . . jam a viginti annis inhabitavi." Ep. ii. 49.

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residence therein, and of the compulsion put upon him by one Pope after another to attach himself to the Roman Church. That he had indeed been brought up in Rome is clear from his own words, as well as from those of others.[1]

Education of Hildebrand.

On the west of the now unfrequented Aventine Hill, not far from the Tiber, the consul Alberic possessed a house; for in the tenth century the Aventine was the aristocratic quarter. Charmed by the virtues of St. Odo[2] (879–942), the great reforming abbot of Cluny, and its real founder, Alberic gave him his house, and the monastery of St. Mary, now represented by the Church of S. Maria Aventinense, became one of the twenty abbeys of Rome. To the abbot of this monastery, who was his uncle, the little Hildebrand was entrusted by his parents to be trained in learning and virtue, and we are assured that he soon showed that he profited by the instruction he received.[3] Here, it would seem, he embraced the monastic profession;[4] here, in converse with the famous abbots who ruled the mother-

[1] In ep. i. 39 he speaks of the Prince of the Apostles "qui me ab infantia mea sub alis suis nutrivit." *Cf.* i. 11, and vii. 23. "S. Petrus a puero me in domo sua dulciter nutrierat." See also n. 1 below.

[2] *Cf. S. Odon* by Dom du Bourg, Paris, 1905.

[3] Bernried, c. 9. *Cf.* Wenrici, *Epist.*, c. 1, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, i. He speaks of Gregory's "Pueritiam . . . in loco sancto a religiosis personis diligenter excultam; adolescentiam . . . assumpto sanctitatis proposito, sub pietatis habitu inter mundi contempores . . . militiæ christianæ dedicatam; juventutem . . . roboratam sub preclaris totius christiani nominis tutoribus." *Cf. ib.*, c. 2.

[4] The fact of his having become a monk has been called in question; but if to the evidence of Wenricus, just cited, be added that of the council of Brixen in 1080 (Hildebrandus "pseudomachus," "habitu monachus videri et professione non esse." Acta synodi, ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 134), it is impossible to doubt it. *Cf.* also Donizo, ii. 3.

"Hunc (Pope Gregory) monachi deflent, monachus quia noscitur esse"; and Hildebrand's own declaration of his having been a monk on his bronze gates at St. Paul's outside-the-walls.

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The Bronze Gates of the Cathedral of Amalfi.
(Similar to those made by Hildebrand for St. Paul's, outside the-walls.)

One of the crosses on the door bears the inscription: "Hoc opus iussit p. redemtione anime sue Pantal. filii Mauri," etc.

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house of Cluny, and who in their visits to Rome took up their abode on the Aventine, he imbibed the reforming spirit of that illustrious monastery, and here he laid deep the foundations of those virtues and of that strength of character which were to be so necessary for him in accomplishing the work that was in store for him.

Enters the schola cantorum.

Fortunately, Hildebrand's training was not confined to the necessarily somewhat narrow groove of his monastery. His promising parts caused him to be sent to the pontifical *schola cantorum* in the Lateran palace, where he came in contact with many of the most distinguished youths in Rome,[1] and with some of its best masters; with men of the school of Pope Sylvester II., such as Lawrence, archbishop of Amalfi, and John Gratian,[2] afterwards Pope Gregory VI. Of these men, the first was highly praised by those who knew him both for his virtue and for his learning, especially for his mastery both of Greek and Latin;[3] and the second was distinguished for his chaste life, and generally upright character.[4]

Becomes a papal capellanus, 1045.

So pleased was Gratian with the talents of his pupil that when he became Pope he made him his *capellanus*,[5] *i.e.*, not his *chaplain* in the modern sense of the term, but one of the palace officials who were guardians of the fabrics of

[1] Ep. iii. 21, where Gregory writes of two "Roman nobles," "familiares nostri, Albericus et Cincius (the city prefect, the son of the prefect John), et ab ipsa pene adolescentia in Romano palatio nobiscum enutriti." From this it would appear that the palace school of the Popes was frequented both by clerical and lay students.

[2] If to this extent we may rely on Beno, *Gesta R. E.*, ii. 3 and 7.

[3] *E.g.*, by St. Peter Damian *in vit. S. Odilonis*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 144, p. 944.

[4] See his biography in vol. v. of this work.

[5] Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, l. v. p. 630. On *capellanus* see Du Cange, *Glossarium*, in voce. "Capellanus vel palatii custos," says Hincmar (*De ordine palatii*, c. 16, ed. Prou, Paris, 1884), speaking of the capellanus of the Carolingian Court.

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churches. In his capacity of capellanus he became one of the guardians of the altar of St. Peter's.[1]

Begins to put down anarchy.

When Gregory VI. ascended the Throne of the Fisherman, Rome, reeling from the disorders of the pontificate of Benedict IX., was in a state of anarchy. The sword of the robber and the dagger of the assassin held the city in terror. The public revenues of the Papacy had been seized by the nobility;[2] its private resources had been filched or dissipated. Pilgrims from other lands, who, "even at the peril of destruction, longed to offer their prayers at the tomb of the apostle, were waylaid; and if they succeeded in escaping the barons of the Campagna, and the bandit nobles who beset the forum, they became a prey to further horrors. Even over the very bodies of the holy apostles and martyrs, even on the sacred altars, swords were unsheathed, and the offerings of pilgrims, ere well laid out of their hands, were snatched away and consumed in drunkenness and fornication."[3]

Realising the uselessness of trying to suppress such flagrant abuses with words, Gregory authorised his capellanus to put them down by the sword. He could not have addressed himself to a better man. Ever on fire with a love of justice, and ever full of feeling for the poor and the oppressed, the young monk studied the art of war, raised men and money, and soon made the profligate nobility feel that there was a master among

[1] "Optinuit ab eo, ut fieret unus de custodibus altaris b. Petri." Beno, *l.c.*, 9. Beno makes him receive this appointment from Leo IX., and depicts him as a magician of the school of Gerbert (Sylvester II.).

[2] See a fragment of one of his letters as Pope, Jaffé, 5273.

[3] These details, which William of Malmesbury (*De Gest. Regum*, ii. c. 13) had "learned from ancient men," are no doubt substantially accurate (see vol. iv. p. 27 and vol. vi. p. 11 of this work). They are abundantly confirmed by what Bonizo (*Ad amicum*, l. vii., an. 1074) has to say of the 60 mansionarii of St. Peter's.

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them.[1] By a display of wisdom and prudence above his years, he was not long in acquiring the greatest influence with all classes of the community.[2] And though the reign of Gregory VI. was but short, a good beginning of suppressing the barbarous licence of the Roman feudal nobility was made during his pontificate by his able and energetic capellanus. The worst violences of the tenth century were not to return again; while the finances and civil authority of the Popes began to give evidence of greater stability.

Hildebrand accompanies Gregory to Germany, 1047.

When, through the action of the council of Sutri, Gregory VI. had to resign the Papacy, and to return with the Emperor Henry into Germany, his faithful capellanus would not leave his side.[3] During the long, weary journey from the Tiber to the Rhine, the condition of the Papacy, to which the congregation of Cluny was especially loyal,[4] must have largely occupied his thoughts. The pontificate of Benedict IX. had shown him to what it could be reduced by the petty tyranny of local nobles; the council of Sutri had proved that it could fare even worse at the hands of an imperial master. He had already begun the work of freeing it from the former; but though with all his soul he

[1] With Malmesbury (*l.c.*) *cf.* Wido. Ferrar., *De scismate Hildebrandi*, l. ii. p. 554. "Nam cum adhuc adulescentulus monachus diceretur, magnam sibi peccuniam congregavit et quasi sub specie defendendi et liberandi Romanam ecclesiam satellitium fecit." Of course Hildebrand's calumniators turned his vigorous conduct against him.

[2] "Qui (men of all grades) omnes illum ab ipsa etiam puericia . . . unanimi devotione amplexati sunt . . . quippe qui ultra proprie juventutis annos morum gravitatem assumens, licet juvenis, etate maturum se ac provecte annositatis seniorem sensu et sapiencia exhibuerit," etc. Manegold, *Ad Gebehardum liber*, c. 8, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, i. 326.

[3] *Cf.* vol. v. p. 268 of this work.

[4] In a bull in behalf of the monks of Cluny (A.D. 1100), Paschal II. praises their "inconcussa charitatis unitas qua inter procellas omnes Sedi Apostolicæ adhæsistis." Ep. 31, ap. *P. L.*, t. 163, p. 51.

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longed to see it once again no longer in slavery but in honour, he had little thought or intention of himself striking the blows that were to break its fetters. Like his great predecessor (St. Gregory I.), who had enjoyed the peace of the cloister before he became Pope, Hildebrand had no wish for anything but his monastery. It was against his wish that he left it[1] to be the adviser of Gregory VI., and to accompany him across the Alps; and it was still more against his dearest wishes that he left it to return again to Rome with St. Leo IX.[2]

Hildebrand in Germany and at Cluny.

The unfortunate Gregory VI. did not long survive his exile at Cologne. And although by his deeds and by his sermons his capellanus, Hildebrand, had made a profound impression upon the Emperor Henry III.,[3] who treated him with the greatest consideration,[4] he did not remain with him after the death of his master, but betook himself to Cluny, the mother-house of his monastery on the Aventine. There for a few months, during the course of the year 1048, he tasted again of that monastic peace he loved so well. This was whilst St. Odilo, who had known him at Rome, was still abbot, and whilst the high-born St. Hugh, who was to succeed to the abbacy in 1049, was grand-prior. A quasi-contemporary, Rainald, abbot of Vezelay, and afterwards archbishop of Lyons (†1129), has left us a picture of the young Hildebrand assisting at a chapter held at Cluny

[1] Paul (cc. 10, 11) says that in his youth Hildebrand visited Francia to subdue the desires of the flesh by the hardships of travel and study, and that but for a prohibition conveyed to him in a vision by St. Peter, he would have made a second voyage there. But, as we have seen in the text, Hildebrand's first journey across the Alps was in 1047.

[2] "Invitus ultra montes cum D. P. Gregorio abii, sed magis invitus cum D. meo P. Leone ad vestram specialem ecclesiam redii." Ep. vii. 14 *a*.

[3] Paul, c. 10. The emperor declared he had never heard the word of God preached with as much earnestness as by Hildebrand.

[4] Epp. i. 19; ii. 44.

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by the grand-prior,[1] who was a few years younger than himself, and to whom he was to be attached in the closest bonds of friendship all the days of his life. It was an all-engrossing love of justice,[2] which they saw everywhere so outraged, that drew these two souls together.

Business on behalf of his monastery took Prior Hugh to the imperial court, and, knowing that Hildebrand stood well with the emperor, he caused the young Italian monk to go with him.[3] It was at Worms that Hildebrand met Bruno of Toul; there that his destiny was decided, for there he agreed to return to Rome.

Hildebrand as the adviser of five popes.

It is hoped that the foregoing narrative has told at sufficient length the rise of Hildebrand under St. Leo IX. and his successors, and how far he succeeded, as their adviser and agent, in reaffirming the authority and prestige of the Papacy both at home and abroad. We have noted his being made subdeacon of the Roman Church by St. Leo IX., and archdeacon by Nicholas II.; we have beheld him, as director of St. Paul's outside-the-walls, making it as bright with monastic virtue as with marble and the precious metals;[4] we have seen from his signature attached to various bulls that he belonged to the papal chancellary since the days of Pope Victor; we have accompanied him on his missions of reform to France,

[1] *Vit. S. Hugo.*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 159.

[2] "Tulit justitiæ sanctam esuriem," says Peter the Venerable (*Rythmus de S. Hugone*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 189, p. 1021) of Hugh. Hildebrand's love of the same virtue will be treated of later.

[3] *Cf.* c. 3, with its important note, of the attractive and important *Vie de S. Hugues*, by Dom L'Huillier, Paris, 1888. The mistakes of Voigt and others regarding the relations of Hildebrand to Cluny are there corrected.

[4] "Domus quoque b. Pauli apost. per Gregorium VII. reparata, claret nunc in religione monastica." Geroh of Richersperg, who visited Rome, in his *Lib. de corrupto eccles. statu*, n. 52, p. 41, ap. *P. L.*, t. 194.

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and on his diplomatic journeys to the German Court, so to arrange the papal elections that they should be freed from imperial control; and we have watched the growth of law and order in Rome through his vigorous administration. There was much of the character of Oliver Cromwell in the young Hildebrand. No man ever trusted more in God; and at the same time no man ever less despised the power of the sword; for he believed it was the duty of the rulers not to bear the sword in vain (Ros. xiii. 4). His soldiers,[1] whom he sometimes accompanied in person, curbed to some extent at least the tyranny of the Roman nobles, and the nations once again crowded to the tomb of the Apostles.[2] For much of what was accomplished under Leo IX. and his successors, Hildebrand received due credit;[3] for if some allotted all the praise to those who were at the head of the Church and State in Rome, the enlightened and the thoughtful knew from whom proceeded the wisdom that devised the reforms, and the vigour which carried them out. To them he was the eye of the Papacy,[4] the shield of the Roman Church,[5] the pillar of the Apostolic See.[6] They declared that the archdeacon's voice had more power than the soldiers of Julius Cæsar, and that

[1] Landulf (*Mediol. Hist.*, iii. 14) speaks of Hildebrand "qui residens in palatio, militiam Romanam quasi imperator regebat." *Cf.* Malmesbury, *De gest. reg.*, l. iii., quoting from one who had the particulars from St. Hugh of Cluny; and Wenric, c. 2.

[2] *Cf. supra*, vol. vi. p. 215, with Malmesbury, *De gest. reg.*, ii. 13.

[3] Especially from the observant S. Peter Damian:

"Vivere vis Romæ, clara depromito voce:
Plus domino papæ quam domno pareo papæ."

"More than the Pope his master I obey." Ap. *P. L.*, t. 145, p. 961. *Cf. ib.*, p. 967.

"Papam (Alexander II.) rite colo, sed te (Hildebrand)
prostratus adoro:
Tu facis hunc dominum; te facit iste deum."

[4] Damian, ep. i. 7. [5] *Ib.*, ii. 6. [6] *Ib.*, ii. 9.

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Rome owed more to him than to the Scipios.[1] "If I obey the Lord Pope," said St. Peter Damian, "still more do I obey the Lord of the Pope." Nor was the saint alone in this, for the Popes themselves obeyed the dark little monk on whom they leaned. He was the confidant of St. Leo IX., who discussed all important matters with him; and he was equally trusted by Popes Nicholas and Alexander.[2]

Hence, if St. Peter Damian, in writing to those Pontiffs, did not hesitate sometimes to couple with their names that of "Hildebrand the venerable archdeacon,"[3] so they in their turn had no hesitation in joining his name to their own when they sent their greetings to distinguished

[1] *Cf.* the poem of archbishop of Alphanus to the archdeacon Hildebrand.

"Quanta gloriam publicam
Rem tuentibus indita
Sæpe jam fuerit, tuam,
Hildebrande, scientiam
Nec latere putavimus.

Quanta vis anathematis?
Quicquid et Marius prius,
Quodque Julius egerant
Maxima nece militum,
Voce tu modica facis.

Roma quid Scipionibus
Ceterisque Quiritibus
Debuit mage, quam tibi?
Cujus est studiis suæ
Nacta jura pontentiæ."

Ap. Giesebrecht, *De litt. studiis in Italia*, pp. 42, 43.

[2] Leo "talibus ejus studiis . . . tantum est delectatus, ut illum jam juvenem auricularium sibi a secreto assumeret . . . decernenda queque cum illo examinaret. . . . Successores vero ejus Nicolaus et Alexander pari voto illum amplexati sunt, pari studio coluerunt." Manegold, *Ad Gebehard.*, c. 8.

[3] "Bb. P. Nicolao, et Hildebrando ven. archdiac. Petrus . . . servitutem." Ep. i. 8; *cf.* epp. i. 10, 16.

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personages.[1] Hildebrand himself too, when Pope, occasionally lets fall in his correspondence a few words which throw out in the clearest light the fact of his great influence in the councils of the Holy See.[2] Surely no man had ever served a better apprenticeship to the Papacy.

[1] *Cf.* ep. Nic., 26, ap. *P. L.*, t. 143.

[2] Alexander grants a favour "me etiam favente atque assensum præbente." Ep. ii. 77. *Cf.* epp. i. 13; ii. 51; iv. i.; epp. coll. 14. As archdeacon he received the letters and ambassadors of kings (ii. 51).

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CHAPTER II.

HILDEBRAND IS ELECTED POPE.

Preparations for the election.

WHILST Alexander lay dying, his archdeacon made unobtrusive but effective preparations to secure a peaceable and free election after his death. He caused not only the regular fortifications of Rome, its walls, its gates, and its bridges, but also such monuments of antiquity as the old triumphal arches which the Roman nobles had long been using as castles, to be occupied by soldiers.[1] So well arranged were his precautionary measures that, when the Pope died (April 21), the Roman people, "contrary to their custom," remained perfectly quiet, and entrusted to Hildebrand the task of carrying out the details for the election of his successor.[2] The archdeacon at once proclaimed the usual three days' prayer and fast which had to precede a papal election. On the following day he assisted at the funeral obsequies of Alexander in the Church of St. John Lateran, to which in life the deceased Pontiff had been a great benefactor.[3]

The election.

Suddenly, in the midst of the hush of the solemn funeral service, a cry arose: "Hildebrand bishop." It was at once taken up by the vast assembly of clergy and people that filled the great basilica, and, anticipating the archdeacon in his efforts to reach the ambo and calm the excited multitude, Cardinal Hugo Candidus, who was afterwards to

[1] *Cf. Acta synod. Brix.*, ap. *Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 134.

[2] Ep. i. 3. "Romanus populus contra morem . . . quievit et in manu nostra consilii frena dimisit."

[3] *Cf.* John the Deacon, *De eccles. Lat.*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 78, p. 1387, or ap. *P. L.*, t. 194.

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betray him, fanned the flame of the people's desires. "My brethren, you know that from the days of Pope Leo it is Hildebrand who has exalted the Holy Roman Church, and freed the city. Since, then, we cannot have a better Pope, or even so good a one, we bishops and cardinals elect him to reign over us, who has received sacred orders in our midst, and who is known and approved by all of us." A unanimous shout: "St. Peter has chosen Gregory,"[1] followed the cardinal's words, and, despite his sorrowful protestations, Hildebrand was clad in the customary red cloak or cope, and, with the papal mitre on his head, was hurried off in triumph to the Church of St. Peter *ad vincula*, and enthroned.[2]

The official relation of the election.

Before this eventful day had reached its close, a notary of the Roman Church had drawn up and deposited in the archives of the Lateran the following official document: "In the year 1073 of the reign of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the eleventh year of the indiction, and in the eleventh moon, on Monday the 10th of the Calends of May (April 22), and on the day of the burial of the Lord Pope Alexander II. of good memory, in order that the Apostolic See [deprived of a pastor] might not long remain in grief, congregated in the basilica of Blessed Peter *ad vincula*, we, cardinals, clergy, acolytes, subdeacons, and deacons of the Catholic and Apostolic Church, in the presence of venerable bishops and abbots, with the consent of the clergy and the monks, and amid the applause of a multitude of both sexes and of every rank, chose for our pastor and supreme Pontiff a religious man, distinguished for his learning, both sacred

[1] Hildebrand took the name *Gregory* in memory of his master Gregory VI., according to Otto of Frising, *Chron.*, vi. 32; but his contemporaries suppose it was given to him after Gregory the Great.

[2] With Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, l. vii., *cf. Cod. Vat. A*, ap. Watterich, p. 308 f., and epp. i. 1 and 8.

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and profane, most remarkable for his love of equity and justice, strong in adversity, but temperate in prosperity—a man, according to the dictum of the Apostle (1 Tim. iv. 2), of good behaviour, blameless, modest, sober, chaste, learned, given to hospitality, one that ruleth well his own house, and who had been from his youth well brought up in the bosom of this mother church, and had for the merit of his conduct been raised to the archdeaconate,[1] to wit, the Archdeacon Hildebrand, whom now and henceforth we wish to be and to be called Gregory Pope and Apostolicus. . . . Done at Rome on the 10th of the Calends of May, in the eleventh indiction."[2]

When the inevitable, which hitherto he had contrived to shun,[3] had come upon him, when it was borne in upon him that he would now have to bear the responsibility of the acts he had long been advising, and when he thought of the magnitude of the evils he believed he was called by God to redress, and of the small means at his disposal wherewith to combat them, he was completely overwhelmed. He was filled with fear, his strength gave way, and the fire of fever exhausted him. From his bed of sickness[4] he wrote to tell his friends how very much against his will he

Gregory ill.

[1] *Cf.* Wenric, *ubi infra.*

[2] Reg., i. 1 *a*, or ap. *L. P.*, in vit., ii. 282. The calumnies of Beno and others to the effect that Hildebrand secured the Papacy by violence and bribery are refuted not only by the details given in the text, but by the express testimony of some of his enemies. *Cf.* especially Guido of Ferrara, *De scismate Hild.*, i. c. 1. "Sunt qui Ildibrandi calumpnientur ingressum. . . . Sed re diligenter inspecta, falsum videbitur omne quod profertur. . . . Ecclesiam non precio, ut prædicant, sed Christi gratia gubernandam suscepit." *Cf.* Gregorovius, *Rome*, iv. pt. i. p. 172.

[3] Wenric declares (Ep., c. i.) that he knew that he "ad summum christiani regiminis culmen decedentibus patribus sepe electum et accitum semper quidem animi, aliquando etiam corporis fuga dignitatis locum declinasse."

[4] "Lecto jacens valde fatigatus." Ep. i. 1. *Cf.* viii. 21.

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had been made Pope,[1] and to implore their prayers.[2] Indeed, not only then, but throughout the whole of his pontificate he continued to beg for prayers, declaring that they were the one thing of which he stood in need:[3] prayers not for himself only, but for his enemies also.[4] "I am come," he cried in the words of the Psalmist, "into the depth of the sea, and a tempest has overwhelmed me. I have laboured with crying: my jaws are become hoarse."[5]

Begins at once to rally his friends round him.

No sooner did he begin to recover than he commenced to prepare for a more vigorous war against the vices which were eating away the life of Christendom than he had hitherto waged upon them. He endeavoured at once to rally his friends around him. Some, such as Desiderius of Monte Cassino,[6] and Gisulf, prince of Salerno,[7] were asked to come to him without delay; and others, the empress-mother Agnes[8] and Guibert,[9] archbishop of Ravenna, were entreated to give him their patronage and support. He lost no time in endeavouring to reconcile those able men whose little misunderstandings so often retard the advance of good. He implored Hugh, abbot of Cluny, to come to an understanding with Cardinal Hugo Candidus,[10] whose feeble character seems to have been better understood by the abbot than by the Pope.

Notifies his election to the great ones of the world.

Nor did he delay to inform in the usual way the great ones in both Church and State of his election to the supreme

[1] "Quanta violentia . . . universalis ecclesiæ, multis perturbationum fluctibus concussæ . . . onus et regimen suscipere sim coactus, occultum vobis . . . esse non credimus." Ep. i. 39. *Cf.* i. 70. "Navem (Petri) inviti ascendimus." "S. R. Ecclesia me invitum ad sua gubernacula traxit," says Gregory in his solemn excommunication of Henry IV. *Regist.*, p. 224.

[2] Epp. 1, 9.

[3] Epp. i. 2, 7, 34, 53, 62; ii. 27, 49. Epp. coll. 1 and 2.

[4] Ep. coll. 30.

[5] Ps. lxviii. 3 and 4, ap. ep. i. 1.

[6] Ep. i. 1.

[7] Ep. i. 2.

[8] I. 1.

[9] I. 3.

[10] I. 6.

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pontificate. But among his extant letters[1] on this subject there is no note of his having sent any information to Henry of Germany regarding it. Are we then to conclude that none was sent? Certainly not. The only explanation of his putting off his consecration till the end of June, and till then styling himself "Gregorius in Romanum pontificem electus," is that the king might thus have an opportunity, not of confirming his election, but of satisfying himself that it had been canonical, and of sending representatives to his consecration.[2] But those who feared the just judgments of Gregory, or who wished to see the Church in subjection to the State, urged Henry not to recognise Hildebrand's election. Chief of these was "that devil Gregory (bishop) of Vercelli," the imperial chancellor for Italy.[3] However much he may have been moved by the representations of Gregory's enemies, Henry did not feel justified in making any attempt to prevent his retaining the chair of Peter. He seems to have simply acquiesced in the situation.[4]

Accordingly, on the Saturday of the Ember week which follows Whitsunday, Gregory was ordained priest (May Gregory is consecrated.

[1] *E.g.*, i. 4, to the Countess Beatrice of Tuscany, to Sweyn of Denmark, etc.

[2] The assertion of Bonizo (ap. Watterich, i. 309), and his copyist Boso, or whoever was the author of *Cod. Vat. A*, that Gregory warned Henry not to consent to his election, but that Henry nevertheless did confirm it through Gregory of Vercelli, is generally discredited. *Cf.* Gregorovius, *Rome*, iv. pt. i. p. 173. In the controversies regarding Gregory's election which arose later on, it was never urged that it had been confirmed by the king.

[3] *Cf.* ep. of William, abbot of St. Arnoul in Metz, to Pope Gregory, ap. Watterich, i. 740 f. "Unde et ille diabolus Vercellensis cum suis complicibus elaborat, ut tu in sede non debeas confirmari." Lambert, (an. 1073) says that like efforts were made by "episcopi Galliarum."

[4] Lambert (*ib.*), who shows himself ill informed regarding Gregory's consecration, pretends that Henry dispatched Ebehard of Nellenburg to examine into the validity of the election, and that on Gregory's declaration that he was awaiting the royal consent before he would receive consecration, the king "ut ordinaretur mandavit."

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22),[1] and received episcopal consecration on Sunday, June 30,[2] in St. Peter's, in presence of the Empress Agnes, the Countess Beatrice, and the Chancellor Gregory of Vercelli.[3]

Rome and Gregory the hope of the world.

On the new Pope were now fixed the eyes of the world, of the bad and of the good alike. The dissolute glared upon him with looks of sullen hate, because they knew he would try to check their lawless careers;[4] while all those who longed for a reformation of manners realised that it must come from Rome,[5] and regarded Gregory as its glorious champion. "If the Roman Church leads not the way back to the path of rectitude," declared St. Peter Damian, "the whole world will assuredly remain sunk in its miserable errors. That must be the beginning of the renewal of our salvation which was its first foundation."[6] "God," wrote William of Metz to Gregory himself, "then especially shows mercy to His people when He sets at their head one whose life may serve them as an example. This He has now done when He has set you on that chair from which the light of virtue is shed on the whole earth, and to which, as do its rays to the centre of a circle, all things converge. . . . But the more you please the good, the more you will displease the wicked, though to be hated by them is no small mark of uprightness. Now, most powerful of men, gird thy sword on thy thigh, that sword which the prophet declares (Jeremias xlviii. 10) must not be withholden from

[1] Bonizo, *l.c.* [2] *Chron. S. Benedicti*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, iii.

[3] Bonizo, *l.c.*, and l. ix., ad an. 1085.

[4] Ep. iii. 14. "Longobardi atque nonnulli Teutonicorum episcopi in nos insaniendo tam vehementi odio inardescunt. . . . Sed scimus, ob nil aliud eos illo conamine niti, nisi quod . . . illorum perversitatibus obviamus."

[5] "Inter hæc tam profunda periclitantis mundi naufragosa discrimina . . . unicus . . . portus Romana patet Ecclesia." Damian, ep. ii. 1.

[6] *Ib.* 9. *Cf.* ep. Greg. IV., 28 init.

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blood,[1] and which the Lord promises shall devour flesh. You see how against the camp of Israel, the Amalecites, the Madianites, and so many other pests conspire. What care, what prudence, what ceaseless zeal must you employ to be able to stay or tame such monstrous brutes! But let no fear nor threats hold you back from this holy conflict. . . . On you, set on the highest pinnacle, are fixed the eyes of all men. They know the glorious combats you have sustained in an inferior station, and one and all long now to hear great things of you."[2]

[1] This is a text which Gregory himself is very fond of quoting, and which he explains to mean that he is accursed who refrains from blaming the sins of men. *Cf.* ep. ii. 66.

[2] Ap. Watterich, i. 740 f. "Ecce te in sublimi et in specula positum oculi omnium vultusque suspiciunt, singuli magna de te audire desiderant."

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CHAPTER III.

CHRISTENDOM, ECCLESIASTICAL AND CIVIL. GREGORY'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS IT.

The temporal rulers of the Christian world.

BEFORE we enter into the details of Gregory's pontificate, it will be well to take a glance at Christendom, to see what conditions therein called for amelioration, especially from an ecclesiastical point of view. We will examine Gregory's position, and how far that position justified him in undertaking to reform the world, and inquire into his aims, and into the motives for his endeavours, into his views with regard to the powers for or against him, and into the means he adopted for putting into effect the ideas of reform which he conceived in his mind.

Henry IV.

If the moral condition of Christendom in the year 1073 were to be gauged from that of its principal rulers, it would have to be rated low indeed. Henry IV., the heir-at-law to the Western Empire, was a dissolute young man, twenty-three years of age. In his private life he was a slave to sexual immorality,[1] and as a consequence was deceitful, cruel, flippant, and greedy of gold, to gain which he sold in the most unblushing manner the ecclesiastical offices of the empire.[2] Making advisers of the companions of his base

[1] *Cf. supra*, vi. pp. 293 f., 297. On Henry's generally vicious character the most respectable ancients and moderns are agreed. St. Anselm regarded him as a worthy "successor of Nero" (*Lib. de Azymo et Fermentat.*, init., ap. *P. L.*, t. 158). With Manegold (c. 29, p. 363) *cf.* Guido of Ferrara (i. 3). Dunham (*The Germanic Empire*, i. 144) calls him "a monster of immorality." "Il est intelligent, mais violent, emporté, de mœurs irrégulières." Lavisse et Rambaud, *Hist. Gén.*, ii. 88.

[2] *Cf. supra*, vi. p. 362.

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pleasures, he chose as his counsellors men who were foolish and young[1] and of no standing.[2] Encouraged by them, he behaved in the most irresponsible manner to the great nobles of the empire, and derided those who came to complain to him of the wrongs his favoured subordinates had inflicted upon them. Especially, but to his own great disadvantage, as he was to live to find, did he flout the Saxons, against whom he had conceived a violent prejudice. He was, in short, a capricious tyrant,[3] who could not endure that anyone should have the will or the power capable of opposing his own. "That he might be the lord of all, he would not have another lord live in his kingdom."[4] Nor can it be said that Henry's deep-seated vices were adjusted by personal activity and bravery, by perseverance and fertility of resource,[5] and by transient fits of penitential piety or generosity.

Philip I.

The nominal ruler of France was the feeble Philip I., strong only against the weak, and like a typical French monarch in his lewdness. Surrounded by mistresses, he finished by discarding his lawful wife and marrying one of them. He trafficked in ecclesiastical preferments in the

[1] Guido, *l.c.*, who adds that he was fond of the society of beautiful boys, but "utrum id vicio fieret, ut aliqui confixerunt, non satis compertum erat."

[2] Lambert, an. 1076.

[3] Mr. Bryce (*Holy Roman Empire*, p. 153) speaks of Henry's "tyranny and irregularities of life." *Cf.* ep. i. 29 *a*, for Henry's letter to Gregory, in which he acknowledges his failure to be just, his disgraceful simony, etc.

[4] Bruno, c. 60. *Cf.* Lambert, an. 1076. "Ultimum, si possit, nobilitati exterminium machinaretur." The historian goes on to say that the princes declared at Tribur (1076) that the castles Henry had built were not to restrain the enemies of the empire, but to take away the freedom of his subjects, "(ut) liberis cervicibus durissimæ servitutis jugum imponatur."

[5] "Homo magni consilii et mirabiliter sagax est." Bonizo, *Ad am.*, l. viii, an. 1077. *Cf.* l. ix., an. 1085.

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most cynical manner,[1] and did not blush to adorn his concubines with what he had filched from the merchants who came to his territories. His reign was the longest and most disreputable which the annals of France have known. It need not be added that both in the empire and especially in France the nobles waged war on one another as they listed, and that the one who finally bore the heavy weight of misery caused by all this misconduct was the man who wielded the hammer or followed the plough.[2]

William the Conqueror.

Though William the Conqueror was "very rigid and cruel, so that no one durst do anything against his will . . . though poor men were greatly oppressed by him, and though he took many a mark of gold from his subjects for little need,"[3] he was the best of the great rulers of Christendom, and for that reason had ever a friend in Hildebrand, both before and after the latter became Pope.[4]

Spain.

But if misery was largely the lot of the people in the countries the rulers of which we have just glanced at, how awful must have been their lot in that part of Spain at least where Christian and Moslem were ever at war, and where that extraordinary national hero, the Cid, was ravaging with mercenary impartiality the lands of friends and foes alike!

Eastern Europe and the Eastern Empire

With the east of Europe, or with the Eastern Empire, the biographer of Gregory will have little concern. The Byzantine power had indeed just (1071) received, if not

[1] *Cf.* ep. i. 35. "Hominem in rebus Dei venalissimum," Guibert de Nogent, *De vita sua*, iii. c. 2. In this respect he was scarcely worse than his predecessor Henry I., who was "multum cupidum et episcopatuum venditionibus assuetus." *Ib.*

[2] St. Peter Damian (ep. i. 15) denounces the princes for plundering ecclesiastical property which is the "stipendia pauperum," and tells how they "mox arundineas rusticorum tegetes aggrediuntur exurere," and vent their spleen on the helpless peasant. For the private wars in France, *cf.* ep. ii. 5.

[3] *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, an. 1087.

[4] Epp. vii. 1; viii. 28.

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its *coup de grâce*, at least a mortal wound at the battle of Manzikert, where the Seljukian Turks defeated the emperor Romanus Diogenes. It would seem that Gregory, when bewailing the falling away of the East "from the Catholic faith," alludes to this terrible battle, when he writes that "the old enemy, the devil, by his members (the Turks?) is killing the Christians of the East, and is thus destroying them spiritually and temporally."[1] This blow, which sent the eastern Roman Empire reeling, was felt in all its provinces; and Bulgaria and eastern Europe generally suffered in the shock. The East had just broken with the centre of Catholic unity, and experienced the first pressure of the Turkish heel which was to crush it.

The ecclesiastics of the West.

Gregory, then, was justified in declaring that in his time there were no princes who preferred the glory of God to their own, or justice to filthy lucre;[2] and that, with regard to those at least in the midst of whom he had to live, Roman, Lombard, and Norman, they were in some ways, as he used to tell them to their faces, "worse than the Jews or the pagans."[3]

From this alone we might at once safely conclude what was his opinion about the bishops of the world. Like priest and ruler, like people. But he has not left us to make deductions about them for ourselves. Through being brought into the councils of kings; through accepting the lands, privileges, and the duties of barons;[4]

[1] II. 49. *Cf.* ii. 31, 37.

[2] Ep. ii. 49. *Cf.* epp. coll. 1, and vi. 17. "Vix aliquis princeps bonus invenitur." There are some good monks, priests, and knights (*milites*), and not a few good poor people, "principes autem Deum timentes et amantes vix in toto occidente aliqui inveniuntur."

[3] Ep. ii. 49. *Cf.* iv. 1; ii. 9. "Lex enim et religio christiana ita fere ubique deperiit, ut Sarraceni et quilibet pagani suos ritus firmius teneant, quam illi qui christianum nomen acceperunt."

[4] In the empire, at least, unmixed evil had not resulted from this close union between the Church and the State. The emperors had

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through being chosen by princes,[1] instead of by the clergy and the people; and through the relaxation of discipline caused by the anarchy of the tenth century, they had become, speaking generally, the counterpart of their secular peers. "Whether, throughout all the regions of the West, I look north or south, I scarcely find any bishops worthy of their positions by their lives or by the manner in which they have acquired their offices, or who rule Christ's flock from love and not from worldly ambition."[2] As their own lives would not bear inspection, stained as so many of them were with the vices especially of simony and of impurity, they not only made no effort to check the vices of their subordinates,[3] but rather encouraged than fought against them.[4] Pre-eminent among the delinquents were the bishops of Lombardy,[5] who were singled out for reprobation by Manasses, archbishop of Rheims, who was far from being a model of virtue himself.[6] Hence in the

cleaved to the bishops, to find in them a counterpoise to the power of the lay nobility; and if from this union the Church had gained riches and material independence, the empire had gained in unity. It was the intelligent political support of the hierarchy that caused the empire to reach its highest point of power in the middle of this century (the eleventh). Henry IV. himself declared that he was certain that "if he honoured and protected the churches of God, there would result stability for the empire, and profit for himself, both in this world and in the next." *Cf.* diploma of May 11, 1071, ap. Chapeaville, *Gesta pont. Leod.*, ii. 11, cited by Cauchie, i. p. vii. n.

[1] It was especially from the days of Henry I. that the emperors began to assume to themselves the right to nominate the bishops; and from his time to that of Henry IV. they proceeded more and more to set aside the rights of the properly constituted electors to choose the bishops, and even of the metropolitans to confirm the elected candidates.

[2] II. 49. *Cf.* iv. 11. [3] II. 45; i. 42. [4] I. 9; epp. coll. 20.

[5] Those of "the Teutonic land" were scarcely much better: "quorum multi non solum carnali scelere sed etiam simoniaca labe fœdati." Ep. i. 77.

[6] See his letter to the Pope, ap. Delarc, iii. 355. *Cf.* epp. coll. Greg., 20.

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great struggle between Henry and Gregory, who in the eyes of most of the men of their time stood for vice and virtue respectively, if many of the German bishops adhered to the former, nearly all the Lombard bishops did.[1] No doubt Gregory's bitterness of soul did not lead him to understate the case against the bishops; but the colours he selected with which to paint their doings were the suitable ones,[2] though perchance they were laid on too heavily at times.

Gregory's view of the situation.

The contemplation of this sad state of things made Gregory think that the barque of the Church was well-nigh shipwrecked. He believed that the times had never been worse since the days of the blessed Pope Sylvester I., when the Church was freed;[3] and the barbarity which he beheld in all countries[4] caused him to see Antichrist everywhere.[5] His sorrows at the sight of the world's misery were so great that, adopting the words of the prophet,[6] he declared that "every hour he suffered the pains of a woman in labour."[7]

[1] Epp. coll. 14, p. 538. *Cf.* ep. iii. 14. Manegold's description of the vices of these bishops is better left unquoted. *Cf. Ad Gebehard.*, p. 338.

[2] *Cf.* what the *scholasticus* of Liège wrote about 1060 (ap. Mabillon, *Vetera Analecta*, p. 444 ff.): "In primis hi qui in populo Dei Magistratus et Duces locum regiminis occupant, sine respectu Dei videntis, sine metu hominis corrigentis, omnes pæne quæ sua sunt quærunt, non quæ communiter et aliorum; quia non est timor Dei ante oculos eorum. . . . Pro studiis divinarum Scripturarum invaluerunt studia partium . . . et dum divitiis et honoribus gestiunt alter alterum pervenire, nec timent profanis mentibus odiis et contentionibus deservire. . . . Cum in nundinis sanctum videmus Evangelium, venales in Ecclesia columbas et cathedras vendentium, nec longe ab his mensas nummulariorum, quia hodie nec gratis quidquam accipitur nec gratis datur," etc.

[3] II. 45.

[4] *E.g.*, bishops mutilated at the very altar (ep. viii. 53); the *Scoti* (or Irish? On the time when the Irish ceased to be called *Scoti*, see Brennan, *Eccles. Hist. of Ireland*, 209 n.) selling their wives (epp. coll. 1), etc.

[5] IV. 1. [6] Jeremias xxii. 23. [7] II. 9.

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It must be reformed.

But Gregory was not the man to stand idly by uttering vain lamentations when the ship in his charge was in danger. He had an intelligence quick to see the perils with which the Church was surrounded and to devise remedies against them; he had a heart to feel for the oppressed, and courage and energy to work for their liberation.

Justice required it.

He was consumed with a violent hunger and thirst for justice. "Right, not might," was his motto.[1] The "justice of God" he would not give up for gold,[2] nor leave for kings.[3] No bribe can make him swerve from the right line of justice.[4] "Truth and justice" he must announce,[5] and from this course he cannot be turned away.[6] "To abandon justice would be for him to make shipwreck of his soul."[7] If his views were not just, he would not wish to be followed.[8] If his legates would be like him, they must pursue justice.[9] The advice he gave to kings was that they should be slaves of justice.[10] He would not tolerate a breach of justice even in his dearest friends, the Countess Beatrice of Tuscany and her daughter, the great Matilda.[11] Even if his predecessors have granted any privileges which

[1] "Neque enim ad hoc prælati sumus, ut nostræ commissos providentiæ potenter magis quam juste tractemus." Ep. i. 81.

[2] II. 12. Had he been willing to let kings rule as they liked, they would have given him "amicitias, munera, subjectiones, laudem et magnificas honorificentias."

[3] I. 56. [4] III. 3; viii. 25, 34, 45; epp. coll. 23; Brenried, c. 43.

[5] "Scire vos volo . . . veritatem et justitiam annunciare compellamur." I. 15.

[6] VII. 3. [7] I. 39; iii. 8.

[8] I. 19. Hence his friends declared that "Justice was always with his judgments:

'Omne judico tuo
Jus favet.'"

Alfano, *ubi supra*.

[9] He bids them "justitiæ semper et nullo modo partibus faveatis, sicut habetis formam nostræ." Epp. coll. 31.

[10] I. 70; ii. 31. [11] I. 77.

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trench on the domain of justice, he would have them quashed.[1] Constancy in working for justice is what he impresses on his friends;[2] punishment for injustice is what he threatens to those who are knowingly unjust,[3] even if they are the great ones of the world.[4] "Justice! justice!" was his incessant cry during life; it was on his lips in his death.

The Church must be free.

Now to Gregory's mind the first step in the way of reform which justice demanded was to free the Church. She was the natural mistress of souls. He was determined she should cease to be the "worthless bondwoman" which the kings of the earth had made her.[5] For this he would fight with both his hands, and as if they were both right hands;[6] for this no fear should ever prevent him from crying out;[7] for this he would resist to the shedding of his blood,[8] or even unto death itself,[9] for which indeed he not unfrequently sighed.[10]

Its bishops must be freely elected, and simony and clerical incontinence checked.

If the Church was to be free, its members must be freed: freed from dependence on princes, and from solicitude for

[1] VIII. 42.

[2] "In facienda justitia fideli constantia accingamini." I. 8.

[3] VI. 6. [4] II. 18.

[5] "Principes hujus mundi . . . (ecclesiam) quasi vilem ancillam opprimunt." I. 42. In this, his main contention, Gregory was certainly in the right. "On general grounds," says Mr Poole, "it is perfectly clear that if the Church was to exercise that sway which all Christians agreed it ought to exercise over the consciences of men, it must be as free as possible from all those ties which bound it to the secular state; if, for instance, the churchman had to look to his king for preferment, he was not likely to be as vigilant or as courageous in the carrying out of his duty as if he depended solely upon his spiritual chief" (p. 228 f.). *Illustrations of Medieval Thought*, London, 1884.

[6] Ep. ii. 49. *Cf.* Judges iii. 15.

[7] Epp. coll. 46. [8] I. 11.

[9] "Magis enim volumus mortem . . . subire, quam . . . ut ecclesia Dei ad confusionem veniat, consentire." IV. 24. *Cf.* viii. 57.

[10] V. 21. "Frequenter hæc vita nobis est tedio et mors carnis desiderio."

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the things of the world.[1] Simony and clerical marriage[1] must be wholly eradicated. These evils had been growing worse from the latter part of the ninth century, and so far the reforming action which had set in strongly with St. Leo IX. had not effected much.

In his determination to enforce continency on the part of the clergy, from the subdeacons[2] upwards, Gregory believed he was acting in accordance with what had been enacted by the canons in the West, at least, from very early times. Besides, in what other way was it possible to check the growing worldliness of the clergy,[3] and to preserve for the poor and for divine worship the resources of the Church which were being squandered on their families?[4] Men

[1] 1 Cor. vii. 32, 33: "He that is without a wife is solicitous for the things that belong to the Lord, how he may please God. But he that is with a wife is solicitous for the things of the world, how he may please his wife, and he is divided."

[2] "Sed et illa b. p. Leonis nos impulit auctoritas, qui subdiaconis ineundi connubii licentiam prorsus abstulit; quod decretum . . . ita pro lege sanxerunt, ut deinceps tribus his ordinibus ecclesiasticis sacerdotibus, levitis et subdiaconis, omnino vincula conjugalia sint prohibita." Epp. coll. 8. Gregory was certainly correct in his contentions. The discipline of the West had been proclaimed by the council of Elvira (c. 305), which imposed continence on bishops, priests, and all "who served the altar." *Cf.* Thomassin, *Vetus et nova Eccles. discip.*, c. 60 ff.; *Cath. Dict.*, art. *Celibacy*; and Galanté, *Fontes juris canonici*, p. 380 ff. (Oeniponte, 1906).

[3] Bardo, in his *Life* of S. Anselm of Lucca (ap. *P. L.*, t. 148, p. 912), says of the clergy of the empire at least: "Ille sacerdos laudabilior, cujus vestis comptior, cujus mensa copiosior, cujus concubina splendidior."

[4] Victor, *Dial.*, l. iii., *init.* "Cœperunt ipsi presbyteri . . . laicorum more uxores ducere, susceptosque filios testamento relinquere." As Dean Stephens (*Hildebrand*, p. 11) well observes: "The clergy were commonly married, and there was a tendency amongst the ecclesiastical aristocracy to become an hereditary caste, transmitting their benefices to members of their own rank. . . . Had this gone on, the clergy would have become intensely local in their sympathies; the divisions of the Church would have followed the divisions of the empire, and its dependence on the Papacy, as the central and supreme authority, would have been loosened."

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who openly flouted the laws of the Church on this important matter of celibacy were not likely to be particular about the commandments in general.[1]

The other great evil which was choking the Church was simony. The princes sold bishoprics and abbacies to any who would pay their price for them, and imposed their nominees on the Church often without allowing the semblance of an election; and in their turn the bishops, "heretical brigands," as St. Peter Damian called them,[2] sold every ecclesiastical office in their power. It requires no imagination to guess what sort of men bought themselves into authority in the Church. The crushing of simony, as practised by the offering of money, of obsequious servility, or of flattery,[3] was naturally the second great item on Gregory's programme of reform. This he would effect not merely by direct prohibition of the degrading vice, and by making every effort to render ecclesiastical elections really free, but by striking at their root, by anathematising lay investiture.

Simony.

Through the lands that had been bestowed upon bishops and abbots, and through the large share in the affairs of government that had been given them, inasmuch as they were at once the most capable and the most willing to work for law and order, kings had begun to look upon them in much the same light as they regarded the secular nobility. This tendency became more marked with the complete collapse of the Roman Empire in the West under the blows of the barbarian, and with the replacement of Roman organisation and of Roman codified law by barbaric disunity and traditional customs. Owing, therefore, to the importance in their kingdoms of the ecclesiastical aristocracy, sovereigns endeavoured to secure to themselves

Investiture.

[1] *Cf.* Bowden, i. 144.
[2] *In vit. S. Romuald*, c. 35.
[3] Such is Gregory's threefold division of simony. Ep. vi. 34.

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the appointment to bishoprics and abbacies. And when they had found a candidate whose knowledge of statecraft, whose gold or whose strong right arm would be useful to them, there was no question with very many of them as to whether by moral character and piety and learning he was fitted for the cure of souls. But by force or by the exercise of undue influence in one form or another, they placed him in the vacant post, presenting him in sign thereof with what were the recognised symbols of spiritual jurisdiction, the crosier and the ring,[1] *i.e.*, they *invested* him with the words, "Receive the Church." The bishop or abbot before being thus invested took an oath of fealty[2] to his prince, and did homage to him after the manner of the holders of secular fiefs. And if his loyalty was not thought satisfactory, the hand that gave the ring and the crosier took them away, and the prelate was deposed. Action of this sort caused both prince and cleric to lose sight of the source of spiritual jurisdiction, with what resulting degradation of the Church we have seen.

This practice of lay investiture sprang up in the ninth century. But, as the real question underlying the quarrel about lay investiture was freedom of election, the practice of such investiture may be said to have been already prescribed; for the general council of Nice (787, can. 3) condemned all ecclesiastical elections made by the secular authority. Some, indeed, at this period were quite alive to the fact that the real issue between the Church and the State was the question of freedom of election. Our northern author, Hugh the Chantor, in his history of

[1] *Cf.* Bowden, i. 326 ff. Honorius of Autun (twelfth century), in his *Gemma animæ*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 172, p. 609, says: "Pontifex ergo annulum portat ut se sponsum ecclesiæ agnoscat." For "accipe ecclesiam," see St. Peter Damian, ep. i. 13.

[2] *Cf.* § 209 ff. for formulas of rendering homage, ap. *A Source Book for Medieval Hist.*, by Thatcher & M'Neal, New York, 1905.

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certain archbishops of York, relates that the distinguished canonist Ivo of Chartres used to point out that it mattered not by what symbol investiture was given, if only freedom of election and consecration were safeguarded. Many, however, wholly failed to appreciate the true bearings of the investiture dispute, and well merited Hugh's reproach that in laying all the stress on the symbols of investiture, and in not putting prominently forward the question of freedom of election, they were swallowing the camel, and straining at the gnat.[1] Gregory, at any rate, had the real end of the controversy well in view when, to give a definite point to the prohibition[2] of Nice, and other similar prohibitions, in 1075, and more explicitly in 1078, he forbade lay investiture,[3] "investitura episcopatus," as he called it.[4] The quarrel over investiture was only settled by the compromise effected at the council of Worms in 1122. Round it the struggles in the first great contest between the empire and the Papacy may be said to have crystallised. The "age of Hildebrand" was "the age of the investiture dispute." The Popes of this epoch attached such importance to this question because "to have left to princes the investiture of bishoprics, with the significance that then attached to that act, would have been to laicise the Church, to crush the episcopacy, and to make of the priest only the chaplain of the great."[5] To the men of the

[1] Ap. *Historians of York*, ii. pp. 110, 111, R. S.

[2] *Cf.* Montalembert, vi. 481 n. [3] Delarc, iii. p. 131 ff., 439 ff.

[4] Ep. iv. 22.

[5] Such is the conclusion of Imbart de la Tour, in his *Les élect. épiscopales*, p. 350. In this work (pp. 341–360) will be found the most satisfactory account of "investiture." See also Gosselin, *The Power of the Pope*, ii. 345 ff. St. Peter Damian well expresses how, by investiture, the princes made the bishops: "Nisi per hanc investituram (of the pastoralis baculus) ille (sæcularis princeps) secuturi sacerdotii tibi prius imprimeret titulum, futurus ordinator nequaquam per manus impositionem, sacerdotii tibi traderet sacramentum." Ep. i. 13.

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eleventh century it appeared that "the bishop had become *the man* of the laic, and that the power of the lord extended over both the bishop himself and over the goods and effects of his bishopric."[1]

The case of Godfrey, archbishop of Trier.

An outline of the career of Godfrey, archbishop of Trier, may serve to illustrate the evils inflicted on the Church when monarchs, like Henry IV. and his son, could trample despotically on her laws. Arnold, provost of Trier, we are told, had a young clerical nephew, Godfrey, who fell into vicious ways. Accordingly, because, "on account of his evil life, his uncle saw that there was no hope of his obtaining promotion in the regular way, he sent him to the court of King Henry IV., in order that he might be intruded by the royal power into a position which he could not hope to obtain canonically."[2]

When once the king's authority had put Godfrey in an important position, he soon obtained a large sum of money by the practice of the grossest simony, and then, by the gift, "it is said," of more than 1100 marks of silver, he procured the archbishopric of Trier, though his ignorance was on a par with his other vices (1124).[3] The money he had had to pay for his promotion, and his attempts at fulfilling the promises of bestowing favours he had had to make, caused the whole diocese to fall into confusion. The distracted people at length appealed to Rome. Honorius II. took up the matter, and his legate, Cardinal Peter, held a synod at Toul (March 13, 1127). Calling upon witnesses to speak "by the obedience they owed to the Roman Church,"[4] the truth about Godfrey's evil

[1] De la Tour, p. 359 ; *cf.* p. 350.

[2] "Ut . . . si nequiret canonice, regia saltem intruderetur potestate." *Gesta Godefridi arch. Trev.*, c. 1, ap. *M. G. SS.*, viii. p. 200 ff.

[3] *Ib.*, c. 2.

[4] "Obediencia Romanæ ecclesiæ quam prevaricari nefarium est." C. 7.

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courses was brought to light and he was at last compelled to abdicate (May 1127).

Position of Gregory in the Church.

To fulfil his burning desire that, "for God's honour, and the renovation of Christendom," there might be a true pastor in every church to rule God's people,[1] and that the clergy, free from lay control, might be conspicuous for their virtues,[2] Gregory felt compelled "to rise up against many and to rouse them up against his soul."[3] Of the difficulties in his way he was not ignorant, and what toil and trouble he was preparing for himself he knew full well. But he believed it was his duty to fight the good fight for the souls of men, because he believed he was the head of Christ's Church on earth and was responsible for the souls of the highest and the lowest, of cleric and lay alike.

In his famous letter "to all the faithful in Christ who truly love the Apostolic See," he reminds them that "all those who throughout the whole world are accounted Christians, and have a true knowledge of the Christian faith, know and believe that Blessed Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, is the father and the first shepherd after Christ of all Christians, and that the holy Roman Church is the mother and mistress of all the churches."[4] She is ever firm and without spot.[5] As the mother of all, she must be obeyed by all;[6] for the Apostolic See has the

[1] "Nos ad honorem Dei et salutem totius christianitatis innovare et restaurare cupimus, videlicet, ut ad regendum populum Dei in unaquaque ecclesia . . . talis . . . eligatur episcopus, qui . . . non fur . . . dici debeat sed nomen et officium pastoris habere dignus existat." Ep. v. 5.

[2] "Noluit (Gregory) ut æcclesiasticus ordo manibus laicorum subjaceret," etc. Bernald, *Chron.*, 1085.

[3] "Nos . . . contra multos insurgere et eos in animam nostram provocare compellimur." Epp. coll. i.

[4] Epp. coll. 46. *Cf.* iv. 27.

[5] III. 18.

[6] Ep. iii. 9. "Sicut durum est contra stimulum calcitrare, sic asperum est S. R. ecclesiæ contraire, cui vos tamquam matri semper oportet obœdire."

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power to bind and loose whomsoever and wheresoever it pleases.[1] As men, the king and the beggar are equal;[2] hence when he speaks in accordance with the statutes of the holy fathers, kings must obey him like anyone else.[3] Bishops, inasmuch as they have the same faith as the Pope, and, moreover, know their duty from the writings of the fathers, must devotedly, lovingly, and faithfully attach themselves to the Apostolic See,[4] and submit to its commands, which "neither patriarch nor primate may contravene."[5] Such of them as prefer to follow the king rather than the Pope are confounding the Christian religion with kingdom and country.[6] If they are not in agreement with the Apostolic See, he must remind them that St. Ambrose has laid it down "that he is a heretic who is not in concord with the Roman Church;"[7] and he must therefore impress upon them that they are in imminent danger of damnation, if they are outside the circle of its unity.[8] And what was Gregory's belief as to his position in the Church, was, as he asserts himself, the belief of

[1] Ep. vi. 4 *init.*

[2] IV. 28. He warns the princes of Spain not "humanæ condicionis, quæ æqua est regum et pauperum, oblivisci." *Cf.* viii. 21, p. 457. The destiny of both king and beggar is dust and ashes. II. 51, to Svend II., king of Denmark.

[3] Ep. iii. 10, Gregory's last letter to Henry IV. *Cf.* viii. 21, p. 457. "Quis dubitet: sacerdotes Christi regum et principum omniumque fidelium patres et magistros censeri."

[4] III. 12.

[5] I. 60. Siegfried, archbishop of Mainz, is warned not "Apostolica judicia, non dico tibi, sed nec ulli patriarcharum aut primatum retractandi licentiam fore existimes."

[6] IV. 1.

[7] VII. 24. "Dicente b. Ambrosio: Ereticum esse constat, qui Romanæ ecclesiæ non concordat." According to Jaffé, the reference is to i. 11 of the saint's letters.

[8] VII. 6. "Sicut certa spes salutis est his, qui in observatione fidei et doctrinæ hujus sanctæ apostolicæ sedis permanent, ita illis, qui ab ejus concordia et unitate exorbitaverint, haut dubiæ damnationis terror imminet."

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Christendom. And one of its most distinguished representatives in the days of Hildebrand declares that "beyond all doubt Rome is the head of the entire holy Church, and its principal see."[1]

It was then Gregory's conviction that, in the spiritual order, he was the father[2] of all Christians without exception, and that, while he owed them all the thoughtful care and affection he could bestow upon them, it was their duty to love and obey him, and to submit as dutiful children to such correction as he believed he was in duty bound to inflict upon them. "God is my witness," he wrote, "that it is not any hope of the applause of men that impels me to oppose myself to wicked princes and unholy bishops, but the thought of my duty and of the power of the Apostolic See which is ever urging me."[3]

Gregory and kings.

Believing that to him had been committed by Christ the supreme direction of the Christian people;[4] that he was a debtor to the believer and to the unbeliever;[5] and that it was his, in the last resort, to decide what Christians had to believe and practise if they would attain to eternal life, he admonished kings and princes of their duties as a father would his sons.[6] And when, relying on their position, they thought they could break the laws of God and man

[1] St. Peter Damian, Serm. 66, ap. *P. L.*, t. 144, p. 880.

[2] "Sicut ad patremfamilias quælibet domesticæ facultatis jactura refertur, sic etiam dignum est, ut summo pontifici patientis Ecclesiæ læsio nuntietur." S. Peter Damian, ep. i. 13.

[3] IV. 1.

[4] "Nos qui populum Christianum instituendi magisterium suscepimus." II. 68.

[5] "Ex consideratione sedis, cujus licet indigni administrationem gerimus, debitores . . . sumus fidelibus et infidelibus." II. 72.

[6] II. 63, 75. In the latter letter we read: "Apud antecessores nostros juris et consuetudinis erat, caritativis legationibus docere viam Domini universas nationes, corripere in his quæ arguenda erant omnes reges et principes, et ad æternam beatitudinem cunctos invitare legalibus disciplinis."

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with impunity, and attempted to put their beliefs into practice, he did not hesitate to let them know, first by words and then by deeds, that they were not above the law. They were Christians equally with their subjects; and when they outraged Christianity, he avenged it as its lawful and recognised head. In the manner in which he vindicated it, he generally followed precedent, though occasionally no doubt he created it. But even in those exceptional cases it would seem that he did not act in violation of the ideas of his age, and that consequently he had with him the sympathy of the great bulk of the intelligent and of the virtuous of his time. And it may well be asked whether his methods of dealing with unsatisfactory rulers which won their approval have not at least as much to be said in their favour as many of those which have been practised in modern times. As Viscount Llandaff has well observed: "Almost all moral writers are agreed that there is some point of oppression and misconduct at which subjects are justified in throwing off their allegiance to a sovereign whose rule has ceased to be legitimate by his misdeeds."[1] But it is another thing to decide when that point has been reached. During the last hundred years every country in Europe has seen that question settled by secret meetings of conspirators, by violence, and by bloodshed. It appeared to Gregory and to the more weighty thinkers of his time that such a moral difficulty should be solved by the judicial decision of the one who was universally recognised as the great *censor morum*.[2]

Gregory only their superior on moral grounds.

Again, it must be repeated that it would be a mistake to

[1] *Matilda of Tuscany*, p. 52. Hence Gregory defines that fidelity to an earthly sovereign ceases to be due when God would be offended if that fidelity were offered. He says: "Fidelitatem terreno domino tunc non recte servari, cum cœlestis Domini et creatoris gratia per illam probatur offendi." Epp. coll. 41.

[2] *Ib.*

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suppose with some writers that Gregory claimed a right to rebuke and even to punish kings, because he regarded all the kingdoms of the earth as his, because he looked upon himself as the king of kings. He believed with the great men who had gone before him, both in Church[1] and State,[2] that there were two powers in the body politic, one spiritual for dealing with the affairs of the soul, the other temporal for the care of the body. He wished the *sacerdotium* and the *imperium* to work together in harmony, to be as the two eyes which guide the body.[3] And as, on the one hand, "the Roman Church was the universal mother of all Christians,"[4] and, on the other, Henry "had been placed by God in the very highest position,"[5] Gregory was ready to greet him as "the head of all the laity,"[6] and "his lord, brother, and son";[7] and that, not on any condition of temporal subjection to himself, but simply on the understanding that he honoured God. Henry, on his side, had

[1] Pope Gelasius (an. 494) wrote to the Emperor Anastasius: "Duo sunt quibus principaliter mundus hic regitur, auctoritas sacra pontificum et regalis potestas." Jaffé, 632 (387).

[2] However Justinian may have acted, he laid down (Novel., 6, ed. Lingenthal, p. 44) that the greatest gifts God had given to men were the Church (ἱερωσύνη) and the empire (βασιλεία); the one attending to the things of God, and the other looking after human affairs, "καὶ ἐκ μιᾶς τε καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀρχῆς ἑκατέρα προϊοῦσα καὶ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον κατακοσμοῦσα βίον," etc. The warlike Byzantine emperor, John Tzimisces, held the same views, according to Leo the Deacon, quoted by Schlumberger, *L'épopée Byzantine*, i. 32.

[3] "Sicut duobus oculis humanum corpus temporali lumine regitur, ita his duabus dignitatibus in pura religione concordantibus corpus ecclesiæ spirituali lumine regi et illuminari probatur." I. 19. Henry in his turn declared to the Pope that "regnum et sacerdotium . . . ab invicem minime dissentiant," etc. I. 29 *a* inter epp. Greg. In ep. vii. 25 the two powers are compared to the sun and moon.

[4] I. 29.

[5] He writes to Henry "quem Deus in summo rerum posuit culmine." III. 7. *Cf.* iii. 10, "Cœteris gloria honore virtuteque potentior," and ii. 31.

[6] "Laicorum caput." I. 20.

[7] III. 7.

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at one time no difficulty in calling the Pope "his lord and father,"[1] and there is no reason to doubt that, if he had acted in any way becomingly as a man and a sovereign, Gregory would never have interfered in the least degree with the temporal affairs of the empire.

At the same time, considering from a Christian standpoint the superiority of the soul over "the whole world," he contended that spiritual authority was of higher importance in itself than temporal. Following in the wake of Gregory the Great[2] and other earlier writers, he maintained that "gold is not so much more precious than lead as the sacerdotal dignity is higher than that of kings."[3] It becomes them, therefore, to look up to the more honourable, to the head (*magister*) of the Church, *i.e.*, to Blessed Peter,[4] and, so far from regarding the Church as their handmaid, they must consider it as their mistress.[5]

Even from their respective origins, the superior dignity of the spiritual power is, according to Gregory, obvious. Princes, he said, have sprung from those who, unmindful of God, by the perpetration of every crime, and with intolerable presumption, succeeded in lording it over their equals, *i.e.*, men. Shall such a power, he asks, not be subject to that dignity which God Himself gave to the world through

[1] "Domine mi et pater amantissime." I. 29 *a*.

[2] *Cf.* epp. Greg. I., ii. 45, al. 46; vii. 8.

[3] VIII. 21, p. 458. *Cf.* vii. 25.

[4] III. 10, to Henry "Decuerat regiam dignitatem tuam, cum te filium ecclesiæ confiteris, honorabilius magistrum ecclesiæ, hoc est b. Petrum . . . intueri."

[5] IV. 3. Imperialist writers throughout the Middle Ages were "almost always willing frankly to admit that, when compared with the State, the Church, having the sublimer aim, might rightly claim, not only a higher intrinsic value, but also a loftier external rank." Gierke, *Political Theories of the Middle Age*, p. 17. Voigt's exposition of Gregory's views (p. 172 ff.) is set forth, rather more than is quite satisfactory, in terms deduced from Gregory's words, and not in those words themselves.

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His Son, the great High Priest, who despised the power of this world, and of his own accord embraced "the priesthood of the Cross"?[1]

But Henry IV., whom in all this Gregory had chiefly in view, was not an Alfred the Great, who, if we are to credit Ailred, abbot of Rievaux[2] (†1166), understood his position as a Christian king, and knew how to expound it in beautiful words. "He realised," records Ailred, "what few nowadays seem to be willing to profess, viz., that the greatest kingly power has no manner of authority in the Church of Christ. True kingly dignity," he used to say, "requires that I should acknowledge that in the kingdom of Christ, which is the Church, I am no king, but a citizen, and that it is not for me to rule the priests by my laws, but humbly to submit to the laws of Christ which they have promulgated." If Henry was ever animated by similar sentiments, it was but in one of those brief and rare moments during which he allowed virtue to make some impression upon him. His normal attitude towards the Church was that of one who would rule it as a master, and crush it as he would a viper if it turned upon him.[3] And it may be safely affirmed that the tyranny of Henry IV. was one of the factors which brought about, towards the close of this century, a change in the theories of ecclesiastical writers as to the origin of temporal authority. Up to the epoch named, they had assigned God as its source, but from the eleventh to the fourteenth century they held that the people were the source of the power of governments.[4]

[1] VIII. 21, pp. 456-457.

[2] *De genealogia Reg. Anglor.*, p. 352, ap. Twysden, *Script. decem.*

[3] "Majorum ascendens currum, omnem Ecclesiam superbienti calcaneo supponere, calcandamque præbere vilem ut ancillam pro viribus conabatur." Bernried, c. 60.

[4] *Cf.* Carlyle, *Medieval Political Theory in the West*, i. 63, and *passim*. Carlyle's work is, in my opinion, much superior to that of

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Gregory did not strive to obtain temporal dominion over all nations.

But with such a man as Gregory VII. as its head, it was not easy for Henry to make a bondwoman of the Church; and it was not long before a struggle which was to outlast the life of Gregory began between the empire and the priesthood. And when once a contest had broken out between powers which ought to have been equal, because each ought to have been supreme in its own domain, it was inevitable that the struggle should issue in a fight for supremacy. But though in the heat of battle Gregory may have given utterance to propositions that were capable of very great extension,[1] there is no evidence that he wished to establish a theocracy, and "obtain supreme dominion over all nations." It is true he claimed an *altum dominium* over some countries, as he did over many monasteries,[2] and that too on much the same grounds, viz., because those who had power over them had either really commended them to the Holy See to secure its protection, or were believed to have done so. Sometimes, indeed, he would appear to have based his pretensions on documents which were not authentic,[3] but which were

Gierke, as it gives the views of each age as they went on changing; whereas Gierke sets forth a theory compounded of the ideas of such different ages as those of Gregory VII. and Innocent III.

[1] *E.g.*, "If the see of Blessed Peter sits in judgment, and gives decisions on concerns that are spiritual and heavenly, how much more on matters that are of this world and earthly." IV. 24; vii. 14 *a*. Carlyle concludes the second volume of his most scholarly work thus (p. 254): "We think that an examination of the subject will have made it clear that while the Church had come (by the thirteenth century) to claim a tremendous authority in relation to the empire, it is not the case that the Church as represented in the deliberate judgments of Canon Law claimed to be supreme over the State."

[2] VIII. 30.

[3] Though he makes no claim to Saxony, he says that Charlemagne offered it to St. Peter "sicut ipsi Saxones habent scriptum." Ep. viii. 23. He *appears* to be referring to the spurious charter, ap. Sickel, *Acta Karol.*, p. 393. *Cf.* Rohrbacher, *Hist. Univer. de l'Église*, vii. 528. He never mentions the False Donation of

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accepted as genuine by the whole world. But if he made claim to Spain and Hungary, to Bohemia, Russia and Croatia, it was because those countries had previously placed their rising liberties under the ægis of the authority of the bishop of Rome, and in feudal style acknowledged their dependence on him by a payment of an annual tax.[1] By degrees this payment came to be regarded in Rome as a sign that the place whence it came was placed under the suzerainty of the Pope. This idea was in the main true, and *may* have been the reason which moved Gregory to claim the *altum dominium*[2] over England also—a claim indignantly rejected by the Conqueror. Possibly, too, he may have regarded William's action in appealing to Rome,

Constantine, though he once (viii. 26) speaks "de terris vel censu quæ Constantinus imperator vel Carolus S. Petro dederunt." Should any, however, suppose that it was before his mind when he put forth some of his claims, it must be remembered that in his age its authenticity was not called in question.

[1] *Spain:* "Regnum Hispaniæ ex antiquis constitutionibus b. Petro et S. R. E. in jus et proprietatem esse traditum." Ep. iv. 28. *Cf.* i. 7. To what ancient charters Gregory here refers is not known. But when he says that Spain had been made over to the Roman Church "in jus et proprietatem," he is using the phrase that was then in vogue to denote the subjecting of monasteries immediately to the Pope. *Cf. supra*, vi. p. 326, for Ramiro's placing of Aragon under the Apostolic See; Jaffé, 5098. *Hungary:* Its first king, Stephen, had made the Holy See its suzerain: "Regnum Ungariæ S. R. E. proprium est, a rege Stephano olim b. Petro cum omni jure et potestate sua oblatum et devote traditum." Ep. ii. 13. This passage is not noticed by Gregorovius (*Rome*, iv. pt. i. p. 176 f.), whose whole account of Gregory's attitude towards these countries is inaccurate. *Cf. Epp.* ii. 63, 70. *Bohemia:* I. 38; ii. 7, and *supra*, vi. 357 f. *Russia:* II. 74, where he writes to Demetrius, king of the Russians, that his son "regnum (Ruscorum) dono S. Petri per manus nostras vellet optinere, eidem b. Petro app. principi debita fidelitate exhibita . . . postulavit." *Croatia:* VII. 4. *Cf. supra*, iii. pp. 242, 248.

[2] Unfortunately, we do not exactly know what Gregory claimed in regard to England. According to the Conqueror's letter to Gregory (ap. *P. L.*, t. 148, p. 748, or inter op. Lanfranc), the Pope's legate had asked that "tibi et successoribus tuis *fidelitatem* facerem," and he had refused "to do fealty," "fidelitatem facere nolui." *Cf.* ep. Greg., vii. 1.

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and accepting the banner from Alexander II., as betokening some manner of dependence on the Holy See.[1] In any case he did no more than repeat a claim which had been made by his predecessor.[2]

Gregory was naturally led to try and revive old rights to temporal suzerainty when he saw new ones bestowed upon himself. He received the donation of Provence from its count, Bertram II.;[3] and his supreme jurisdiction over Sardinia, if not over islands in general, was acknowledged by the numerous requests made to him for permission to invade that island.[4] Perhaps Gregory was as anxious for princes to place themselves under his suzerainty as some of them were to submit themselves to it. But if that were so, his object was not merely that the pecuniary advantages arising therefrom might help to replenish the depleted papal treasury, but that the good of Christendom might be thereby promoted. "Religious bishops," he said himself in his famous apologetic letter[5] to Bishop Herimann of Metz, "who, led by divine love, wish to rule (*præesse*), do so that God's honour and the salvation of souls may be thus advanced." And if Gregory's overlordship had been everywhere respected as it was with regard to Sardinia, there can be no question but that the peace and happiness of Europe would have been very greatly extended.

Gregory's resources.

In his untiring efforts to better the temporal and spiritual

[1] Wace (v. 3337 ff., or p. 115 of Taylor's translation) says that Alexander, in sending "the gonfannon," told William to conquer England "and hold it of St. Peter." But Wace wrote in the days of Henry II., when there was question of that king's holding Ireland of St. Peter.

[2] *Cf. supra*, vi. p. 332 ff.

[3] VIII. 35. *Cf. L. P.* for the gift to Blessed Peter of the castrum Moricicla (*cf. Reg.* vi. 5 *a*), and Lavisse and Rambaud, *Hist. Gén.*, ii. 85, or Fabre, *Étude sur le lib. Censuum*, p. 117, for another example. *Cf.* Jaffé, 5375 and 5377.

[4] VIII. 10.

[5] VIII. 21, p. 459.

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condition of his children, on what had the Father of Christendom to rely? Certainly not on those who ought to have been his natural allies; not on kings and princes; for they, as usual, were, for the most part, the principal agents of the degradation against which he was struggling; and not on the bishops, who, as a body, were little better than the secular princes.[1] And of those in the episcopal order who were not wholly bad, the greater number would not act.[2] He could not even count on the members of his own household. Beno[3] has left us a list of cardinals and other functionaries of the pontifical court who abandoned their master in the time of stress in 1084. Among the deserters were over ten cardinal priests and deacons, the primicerius of the *schola cantorum*, with all his subordinates (*cum omnibus suis*), the oblationarius, the prior of the regionary subdeacons, the archacolyte, the *subpulmentarius* (an almoner), the primicerius of the judges, and all the banner-bearers of the different regions (*cuncti milites signa banda gestantes*), the prior of the scriveners, and many others.

He had to rely, then, in the first place, on God and on himself. We have seen how he begged for prayers; for he trusted in God more than in man,[4] and believed that He was with him and worked with him.[5] Writing within a year or two[6] of his death to the clergy of Gaul, he took

[1] Epp. coll. 1; ii. 11, 49. Throughout the whole of his pontificate the majority of the German bishops were opposed to him.

[2] From the days of Pope Leo IX. the German bishops "adhuc tamen inobedientes, exceptis perpaucis, tam execrandam consuetudinem (simony and clerical incontinency) nulla studuerunt prohibitione decidere, nulla districtione punire," etc. II. 45. *Cf.* epp. coll. 23.

[3] We may be sure Beno has not abbreviated the list. *Gesta Rom. Eccles.*, i. 1.

[4] "In potentia divinæ virtutis magis quam in homine fidem, spem et omnes cogitatus collocavimus." III. 15.

[5] I. 25.

[6] Epp. coll. 23, an. 1083, and not 1078. *Cf.* Declarc, iii. 592 n.

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occasion to thank God for having protected him from the violence of his persecutors; for having defended in his person that justice for which his conscience had made him contend; for having strengthened his weakness, and for never allowing either bribes or threats to turn him to iniquity.

In his efforts to defend the oppressed and to uphold justice, obligations which he believed his position as successor of St. Peter forced upon him,[1] he was ever upheld by confidence in the prestige of Rome—he was fond of repeating that Rome, through its faith or through its arms, was ever invincible[2]—by the glorious idea of duty,[3] and by the hope of eternal rest with Christ our Lord.[4]

The legates of the Holy See.

But with all the self-reliance which the thought of duty and of working in the cause of God and man inspired him, he knew he must have fellow-workers. The vineyard of the Lord was so vast, and was so wofully overgrown with weeds! His first care was to multiply himself by his legates, by men whom he strove to animate with the same spirit as himself. "Ever act with becoming dignity," he used to tell them,[5] "as though I were with you, or rather because I am with you, my representatives." He would have them at once heroes and sages, all on fire with charity, so that the oppressed might find in them defenders, and that oppressors might learn that they were lovers of justice.[6] He sent

[1] "Ex cujus sedis (that of St. Peter) successione imminet nobis inevitabili necessitate, ut omnibus oppressis debeamus opem ferre," etc. VIII. 57.

[2] Geoffrey of Anjou, or really Berengarius of Tours, wrote to Hildebrand (1054): "Gloriabaris autem tu et quasi proludebas in eo, Romam tuam fide atque armis semper fuisse invictam." Ep. Gaufridi, ap. Sudendorf, *Berengarius*, p. 218.

[3] I. 13. [4] I. 9; ii. 49. [5] VIII. 23.

[6] VI. 3. "Viriliter et sapienter agite; vestraque omnia in caritate fiant, ut oppressi vos prudentes defensores inveniant, et opprimentes amatores justitiæ recognoscant." *Cf.* ep. coll. 46.

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them north and south, east and west. They were seen in England and in Denmark, as well as among the Normans in south Italy; they found their way not only into the more civilised lands of the Eastern Empire, into Germany, France and Spain, but also into Hungary, Poland, and Russia. And wherever they went they were followed by Gregory with eager interest; and he strove to secure for them a favourable reception everywhere. "He who receives you, receives us,[1] *i.e.*, receives Blessed Peter himself,"[2] he used to declare. As he pointed out to the bishops of southern France and Spain: "From its very foundation it has been the custom of the Roman Church to send legates to every land that boasted the name of Christian; so that through them the ruler of that church might effect what he could not in his own person, viz., instruct the churches throughout the world in apostolic faith and practice."[3]

But if he strove to make the path of his legates smooth, and to punish any interference in the commissions with which he entrusted them,[4] he never ceased to impress upon them that they must use the power entrusted to them with the greatest moderation and prudence;[5] and he occasionally made them feel the necessity of so doing by revising or by annulling their decisions.[6]

Other allies on whom he confidently reckoned were the monks. Amid the general defection which he was constantly deploring, he thanked God that among those who still feared Him were the monks.[7] Hardly a monastery

Gregory and the monks.

[1] IV. 26; v. 2, etc.

[2] Epp. coll. 21, the fullest letter regarding *legates*. [3] *Ib.*

[4] *Ib.* 37; v. 15. *Cf.* vi. 2.; vii. 12; and viii. 17, for the case of Manasses I., archbishop of Rheims, and his opposition to the most famous of Gregory's legates, Hugh de Die.

[5] Epp. coll. 39.

[6] I. 16; viii. 38. *Cf.* Rocquain, *La Papauté*, p. 111 ff.

[7] VI. 17.

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can be cited which adhered to the cause of Henry, simony, and clerical concubinage. There was Farfa[1] in Italy, which was imperialistic by tradition; and among those which had been forced to accept creatures of Henry as their abbots, and were thus pressed into his service, may be named those of St. Gall in Switzerland, and Hersfeld in the diocese of Halberstadt. A monk himself, Gregory protected and favoured the monastic orders[2]—the more so since no care was taken of them by the great ones of the world.[3] "Do you think," he wrote to Bishop Cunibert of Turin, "that bishops have received with their pastoral staff such an amount of power and licence that they may oppress as they please the monasteries which are in their dioceses, and diminish religious fervour there by capricious and unlimited requirements? Are you then ignorant that popes have frequently freed the monasteries from the rule of bishops, and bishops from that of metropolitans, on account of the vexations inflicted by superiors? Do you not know that it has been their object, by the gift of lasting liberty, to attach the churches to the Apostolic See, as the members are attached to the head? Consider the privileges granted by our predecessors, and you will see that it has been forbidden even to archbishops to fulfil their office in abbeys unless invited by the abbots, lest the peace of the cloister should be disturbed by the influx and the conversation of secular visitors."[4]

The monks were not ungrateful for his care. They

[1] Hence by its monks was published in 1111, *Orthodoxa defensio imperialis*, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, II. They conclude, c. 11, "Patrocinium autem imperatorum numquam amittere voluimus."

[2] Jaffé, 4864–4865, etc. *Cf.* Montalembert, *Monks*, vi. 401.

[3] "Oportet nos," he writes bitterly to Hugh, the great abbot of Cluny, "quandoquidem non est princeps qui talia curet, religiosorum tueri vitam." II. 49.

[4] II. 69. Montalembert's translation. *Cf.* Jaffé, 5301.

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everywhere showed themselves staunch and able friends of the Papacy, and gave up their most promising subjects to its use. From them Gregory drew his best bishops,[1] his counsellors, and his legates. First among his confidants was Hugh, the great abbot of Cluny, whom we may call the patriarch of the monks of his day, who had been the trusted friend of the emperor Henry III., and who was the godfather of Henry IV. He was a man whose moderate and amiable character well enabled him, without sacrifice of principle, to act as mediator between Henry IV. and Gregory, whom, like St. Peter Damian, he regarded as a gentle tyrant (*blandum tyrannum*), a lion in striking and a lamb in pardoning.[2] Also from Cluny there came to the service of Gregory, Gerald, its grand-prior, to be made cardinal-bishop of Ostia, and its prior Odo, who was to succeed Gerald in the See of Ostia, and to become Pope Urban II. The legate Hugh de Die, who in Gregory's name practically ruled the Church of France for ten years, had been prior of St. Marcel-lez-Châlons, and Jarenton, who brought Guiscard and his Normans to save Gregory from Henry, had been educated at Cluny, shared Gregory's exile at Salerno, and for his sufferings in the cause of justice merited to be called by the Pope his fellow-captive.[3] The dearest of Gregory's friends,[4] one who as his legate in Germany suffered exile and imprisonment in his cause,

[1] He wrote (1077) to Hugh of Cluny to bid him "ut sibi aliquos de monachis suis viros sapientes transmittat, quos competenter episcopos ordinare possit." *Hist. Tornacenses*, iv. 1, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xiv. The *Historiæ* were compiled *c.* 1150.

[2] *Cf.* Montalembert, *l.c.*, p. 408. In his c. 3 of book xix. (Co-operation of the Monastic Orders with Pope Gregory VII.) Montalembert gives a brief but graphic account of each of the monks mentioned in the text. *Cf.* cc. 16–19 of *S. Hugues de Cluny*, by L'Huillier.

[3] Hugh of Flavigny, *Chron.*, ii. p. 334, ap. *P. L.*, t. 154.

[4] "Re vera sibi dilectissimum d. papa unice sibi prærogavit." Berthold, *Chron.*, 1079, p. 438.

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was Bernard, abbot of St. Victor at Marseilles. Monks also were such steady allies of Gregory, as Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino; Alfano, the famous archbishop of Salerno; Cardinal Stephen, who, with Gregory himself, deserved to be called by St. Peter Damian "an impregnable buckler" of the Holy See; Bruno of Asti, bishop of Segni; St. Anselm of Lucca, the adviser of the great countess; and William, abbot of Hirschau, who in his last agony exhorted his monks to persevere till death in subjection to the Apostolic See.[1]

The people side with Gregory.

Also on the side of Gregory were not merely such comparatively few bishops as were by virtue and learning fitted for their office, and such rare secular princes as Matilda of Tuscany (at once almost a nun and a knight), who had a thought above their own sordid interests, but generally the great mass of the people. Even the fickle populace of Rome, as was proved by their conduct during the siege of their city by Henry, were exceptionally loyal to Gregory. The devotion of the people at large to the Pope is set down as a fact by contemporary historians;[2] and in full faith of its truth we see Gregory himself finding his consolation.[3]

The aims of Gregory acknowledged to be good.

With these allies, such as they were, "monks, simple priests (*sacerdotes*), the lower order of the nobility, and the poor,"[4] Gregory assailed iniquity in high places; and, as he declared only a few months before his death, strove with all his might (*summopere*) to bring it about that the

[1] See his *Life* by his disciple Haimo, c. 24, ap. *P. L.*, t. 150. "Omnes obsecrans et contestans ut in unitate ecclesiæ et subjectione sedis apostolicæ . . . usque ad mortem inviolabiliter permanerent."

[2] Marianus Scotus, *Chron.*; Beno, *Gest. Rom. Eccles.*, i. 1. Hence the assertion of Henry IV.: "Tibi favorem ab ore vulgi comparasti" (Ep. ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 101), and that of the rebel bishops of Worms that he had prostrated the whole ecclesiastical administration, "plebeio furore." *Ib.*, 104.

[3] Epp. ii. 11; vi. 17.

[4] Ep. vi. 17.

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Church should hold the honoured position that was its due, and "should remain free, chaste, and catholic."[1]

That, in truth, Gregory's aim was as pure as he professed it to be, that it "was a righteous one, few," writes a non-Catholic author, "will now venture to dispute."[2] The most eminent modern writers on the age of Hildebrand are generally agreed that Gregory's struggle was that of mind against matter, of moral against physical force, of the laws of love and justice against those of selfishness and might.

Now that we have seen something of the motives which animated the great Pontiff, and of the forces which were at work for or against him in his gigantic efforts to secure the independence of the Church, we may now let the course of the narrative of the events of his pontificate run freely on, unchecked by reflections on the intentions which inspired his several actions.

[1] Epp. coll. 46.

[2] Stephens, *Hildebrand*, p. vii. *Cf.* p. 153, "He had no selfish or sordid aims." *Cf.* Bowden, i. 10, "He was a witness for the truth delivered to the Church's care, and a reformer of the abuses of his time." See Voigt, p. 605, and *passim*; and Miley, *Papal States*, ii. 500, for the views of Sir James Stephen and others.

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CHAPTER IV.

FIRST TWO YEARS OF GREGORY'S PONTIFICATE. REFORM AT HOME AND ABROAD. IDEA OF A CRUSADE. FIRST RELATIONS WITH HENRY IV. AND WITH THE NORMANS.

Promotion of order in and around Rome.

AS Pope, Gregory continued the administrative work on which he had been engaged as a *capellanus* and as the *œconomus* of the Holy See. In the first place he persevered in his efforts to make the Roman barons and those of the Campagna respect the law,[1] and to force the Normans to confine themselves to their own territories. To effect these ends he paid as before no little attention to the armed forces of the Roman Church.[2] With their aid and with that of Landulf, prince of Benevento, and Richard, prince of Capua, who had taken the oath of fealty to him,[3] he not only garrisoned the cities and towns, and held what was still left of the papal inheritance, but recovered much of what had been lost of it by violence, fraud, or negligence. So actively was this police work carried on that in a few months there was no one bold enough to touch the property of Peter.[4] Even before his consecration he had to defend

[1] *Cf.* Bonizo, l. vii. p. 659, for his designs against the counts of Bagnorea.

[2] "Fecit sibi militum copiam, non ob inanem, ut æstimant, gloriam sed ad propagandam Romanam ecclesiam, quæ a Normannis vim passa et a cæteris finitimis conculcata in nichilum videbatur pene redacta." Guido, *De scismate*, i. 2. *Cf.* Benzo, iii. 10, and Walram, *De unit. eccles.*, ii. 2.

[3] See their oaths ap. *Regist.*, i. 18 *a* and i. 21 *a*.

[4] Guido, *ib.* But when the quarrel with Henry began, attacks on the property of the Roman Church commenced immediately. Jaffé, 5273.

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the temporal rights of the Holy See against the usurpations of Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, who to the prejudice of the Roman Church endeavoured to subject certain towns of the exarchate to his own authority.[1]

Scandals in St. Peter's.

But it was even more necessary that order should be restored in Peter's own home. The great Roman basilica that bore his name was under the care of over sixty *mansionarii* or sacristans. These men were laics, of whom some were married,[2] and who at this period were one and all scoundrels. Shaved and wearing mitres, they gave out to the simple that they were priests and cardinals; and during the day received money from the peasants in return for their prayers, and during the night committed robbery, murder, and adultery. The behaviour in St. Peter's of some of the cardinals themselves was not above reproach. They only had the right to say Mass at the high altar, or altar over the body of the Prince of the Apostles. For the sake of gain, they came to the basilica and began to offer the great Christian sacrifice before the dawn. To put an end to these most disreputable customs, Gregory, after expelling with no little difficulty the lay *mansionarii*, replaced them by good priests, and forbade the church to be open before daylight, and the cardinals to say Mass till nine o'clock.[3]

Finance.

By encouraging the payment of Peter's Pence and other means, he endeavoured to raise the funds necessary for the purposes of government. Through his good management of the monies at his disposal, it resulted, not that the poor were robbed,[4] but that, as always happens when revenues are well expended, there was enough for necessities and for charity. Hence even Guido of Ferrara praises him[5] as

[1] Ep. i. 10.
[2] "Laici conjugati et plerique concubinati." Bonizo, l. vii., an. 1074.
[3] *Ib.* [4] As Walram asserts, *l.c.* [5] *L.c.*

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"the protector of the widow and the young, the helper of the orphan, and the advocate of the poor," and also for his profuse liberality to the needy and the helpless.

The Normans, 1073.

Full of enthusiasm and of the hope begotten of it, the energetic Pontiff resolved to approach Robert Guiscard and the Normans, trusting to be able to induce these enterprising and warlike neighbours to leave his dominions in peace. Leaving Rome in July, he spent a day by the sea at Laurentum, a town now no more, which lay between Ostia and Ardea, and seemingly in the neighbourhood of the existing hamlet of Capocotta. Thence he betook himself, by Albano, first to Monte Cassino to secure the company of its abbot Desiderius,[1] ever a *persona grata* to the Normans, and then to Benevento. There, on August 12, he received from the Lombard prince Landulf an undertaking that, on pain of being instantly deprived of his position, he would be faithful to the Roman Church, and would not in any way lessen the integrity of his duchy by granting investiture of any portion of it without the consent of the Pope.[2] But though Gregory had given proof of his goodwill towards Guiscard when a false report of his death had reached him,[3] the wily Norman contented himself with promising in general terms that "he would serve the Pope faithfully."[4] It is true that in 1059 Robert had taken an oath of fidelity to Nicholas II., but his lust of conquest had gone on increasing, and he would not have his designs on Salerno, on Capua, and perhaps, too, on Benevento, hampered by further oaths. Gregory, like Leo IX., soon saw that arms alone would keep the ambition

[1] *Chron. Cass.*, iii. 36.

[2] Ep. i. 18 *a*. Landulf was to lose "suum honorem" if "fuisset infidelis S. R. Ecclesiæ . . . aut aliquam (publicam rem Beneventanam) absque nutu papæ . . . alicui fecessiset investitionem."

[3] *Cf.* Aimé, *L'ystoire*, vii. 8.

[4] *Ib.* "Li promist de lo servir fidèlement."

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of Guiscard within bounds. To meet force with force, he endeavoured to ally to his own forces those of Gisulf of Salerno, of the Norman, Richard of Capua, and of Beatrice and Matilda of Tuscany. On September 14 he received from Richard an oath of fidelity, such as he had previously taken to Nicholas II. (1059).[1] He swore to do all that in him lay to help to recover the possessions of St. Peter; to pay annually the money due for the lands which he held of the Roman Church; and to restrict any oath of fidelity he might be called upon to take to King Henry by the clause saving the fealty he owed to the holy Roman Church.[2]

Satisfied with what he had already accomplished, Gregory seems to have imagined that he had practically checkmated Robert.[3] Writing a week or two later to the knight Herlembald, the leader of the reform party in Milan, he told him that he was at Capua in good health, and happy because he believed that his residence in that city had resulted in great advantage to the Church. "For the Normans, who, with manifest danger to the empire (*reipublicæ*) and holy Church, had been contemplating peace with one another, are obstinately continuing in the state of unrest in which we found them. It will only be through us that they will obtain peace. For if we had judged it for the advantage of holy Church, they would already have humbly submitted to us, and have displayed towards us their wonted reverence."[4] But he had strangely underrated the energy, ability, and power of Guiscard.

[1] *Cf.* Delarc, ii. 127. [2] Ep. i. 21 *a*.

[3] There is good reason to believe that he reckoned on securing the assistance of the Byzantines, naturally infuriated against the Normans by their expulsion from Bari. *Cf.* Delarc, iii. 30 ff.

[4] "Si enim discretio nostra S. ecclesiæ utile approbaret, ipsi jam se nobis humiliter subdidissent et, quam solent, reverentiam exhibuissent." Ep. i. 25.

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Summoning his brother Roger, count of Sicily, to his aid, the Norman duke began at once to ravage the territory of Richard, and before the Pope had returned to Rome (*c.* December 17, 1073) had inflicted material damage on his Capuan ally.[1]

The idea of a Crusade, 1074.

About this time advices which he had received from Constantinople[2] inspired Gregory with a new idea, and made him more anxious than ever to assemble troops. After the disastrous defeat of the Byzantine forces at Manzikert, and the subsequent irritating but impotent conduct of the imperial government towards the victorious Alp Arslan, the sufferings which the Turks inflicted on the helpless Christian population of Asia Minor surpass belief.[3] And in the midst of their unspeakable afflictions the oppressed turned for help to the common Father of Christendom,[4] whom their chief priests had rejected. When messenger after messenger reached him telling him that the heathen had laid waste the whole land almost to the very walls of Constantinople, and had slain many thousands of Christians as though they had been beasts of

[1] Delarc, iii., 43 ff. [2] Ep. i. 46.

[3] "Every calamity of this unfortunate period sinks into insignificance when compared with the destruction of the *greater part of the Greek race* by the ravages of the Seljouk Turks in Asia Minor." Finlay, *The Byzantine and Greek Empires*, p. 51. William of Apulia sang (l. iii., *init.*):—

> "*Maxima pars horum* ruit interfecta nefandis
> Turcorum gladiis, *i.e.*, the greater part of those
> Qui Romaniæ loca deliciosa colebant."

The Christians were being slain "more pecudum." Epp. coll. 11. *Cf.* i. 49; ii., 31, 37, 49, etc.

[4] Ep. i. 46 speaks of the Eastern Christians: "Qui, nimium afflicti creberrimis morsibus Saracenorum inianter flagitant, ut sibi manum nostri auxilii porrigamus." *Cf.* ii. 31: "Ad me humiliter miserunt nimia compulsi miseria, implorantes, ut modis quibus possem eisdem fratribus nostris succurrerem, ne Christiana religio nostris temporibus quod absit omnino deperiret."

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the field,[1] Gregory's heart was wrung with grief, and he longed himself to die to save his brethren.[2] "He would rather," he declared,[3] "lay down his life for them, than neglect them and have the whole world submissive to his will."

Though convinced he could himself raise troops enough to bring the refractory Normans "to a sense of justice,"[4] he tried to realise a plan which he thought would result in saving Christian blood, both in Italy and in the East. He would gather together a great Christian army, the very sight of which would bring about the submission of the Normans, and which would be powerful enough, under his own personal leadership,[5] to stop the ravages of the Turks. These great plans we see unfolded in the following letter which he dispatched to William I., count of Burgundy, on February 2, 1074: "Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to William, count of Burgundy, health and apostolic benediction. Your prudence may remember with what a large-hearted welcome the Roman Church formerly greeted you, and what special love she has ever displayed towards you. It does not then befit you to be unmindful of the promise you made to God before the body of Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, in the presence of our venerable predecessor, Pope Alexander, of a considerable number of bishops and abbots, and of a very great concourse of people of different nationalities, to the effect that when necessary your right arm would be ready to strike a blow for the defence of the possessions (*rerum*) of St. Peter, whenever it was called upon to do so. Hence, mindful of the nobility of your faith, we admonish you to make ready your armies to lend aid to the liberty of the Roman Church, and, if need be, to march hither with your troops as servants of St. Peter. We beg you also to instruct to act in like

[1] Ep. i. 49. [2] Ep. ii. 31. [3] *Ib.* [4] I. 46. [5] II. 31.

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manner, the count of St. Giles,[1] the father-in-law of Richard, prince of Capua; Amadeus,[2] the son of Adelaide;[3] and the others you know to be loyal (*fideles*) to St. Peter, and who, with hands raised to heaven, have given the same undertakings as yourself. If you have any definite response to make to us, let your messenger be so instructed as to be able to remove all doubt from our mind; and let him on his way to us call upon Beatrice, who, with her daughter and son-in-law,[4] is an earnest worker in this matter.

"We are not labouring to collect this great number of soldiers because we wish to shed Christian blood, but that they (*i.e.*, the Normans), seeing the strength of our forces, may fear to fight, and may the more readily submit to what is just. We have, moreover, a hope that perchance a further good result may follow from this expedition: viz., that, when the Normans are quieted, we may pass over to Constantinople to assist the Christians, who, suffering terribly under the repeated blows of the Saracens, unceasingly implore us to stretch out to them a helping hand. For were it a question merely of the rebellious Normans, we have ourselves sufficient forces to deal with them.

"Doubt not that, as we believe, Peter and Paul, the Princes of the Apostles, will bestow a manifold recompense on you and on all who with you will share in the toil of this expedition.

"Given at Rome on the fourth of the nones of February (February 2), in the twelfth indiction."[5]

A month later a circular letter, addressed "to all those who wished to defend the Christian faith," and entrusted

[1] Raymond, afterwards the fourth count of Toulouse, and famous in the first Crusade.

[2] The second count of Savoy. [3] The countess of Turin.

[4] Godfrey the Hunchback, duke of Lower Lorraine. [5] I. 46.

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to the charge of one newly come from the East,[1] informed the Western world of the terrible sufferings which the heathen Turks were inflicting on the Christians of the East. "Wherefore, if we love God and regard ourselves as Christians, we ought to be overwhelmed with grief at the misfortune which has befallen so renowned an empire, and at the terrible slaughter of Christian men. But we must do more than grieve; the example of our Redeemer must move us to sacrifice our lives for them. We ourself intend to do all in our power to help the empire. In the name, then, of that faith in which through Christ we are united by the adoption of the sons of God,[2] we exhort you, and by the authority of Blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, we urge you to let the wounds and blood of your brethren, and the dire peril of the empire, stir up your sympathy, so that you may be ready to undergo the toil of bearing help to your brethren. Let us know without delay, and by reliable messengers, what the mercy of God shall move you to do."[3]

Guiscard is excommunicated.

But Europe was not yet ready for a Crusade. The story of the Turkish atrocities had not yet been told often enough, and great masses are not moved at the first essay. The echo to Gregory's resounding trumpet-call to arms was but feeble; and meanwhile Guiscard continued contumacious and threatening. In the Lenten council of this year (March 1074), Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, with all his supporters, was excommunicated and anathematised,[4] in the presence of Matilda of Tuscany, the Marquis Azzo, and Gisulf of Salerno.[5]

[1] "A quo sicut *a plerisque aliis*, cognovimus gentem paganorum contra christianum fortiter invaluisse imperium," etc. I. 49.

[2] Ros., viii. 23.

[3] I. 49, March 1, 1074.

[4] I. 86, which is really an historical notice closing the first book of Gregory's Register.

[5] Bonizo, l. vii.

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Gregory aims at compelling his submission.

Gregory, however, knew enough of the audacious nature of the duke to realise that no censure of the Church would put a curb on his ambition. The sword of Guiscard must be crossed with another of like temper and material. But whence was he to procure it? He had already discovered that the transalpine princes would not take up arms either against the Turks or the Normans. "You," he wrote to Duke Godfrey, "have done like so many others. You have been false to your word. Where is the aid you promised? Where are the soldiers you promised to lead in person to bring honourable succour to St. Peter?"[1]

A papal army at Mt. Cimino, June 1074.

His Italian allies were, however, truer to Gregory. Beatrice and Matilda undertook "to force the enemy to restore what he had taken from the Prince of the Apostles."[2] Accordingly, in the summer of 1074 an army from different parts of Italy assembled by the woods of Mt. Cimino, between Sutri and Viterbo. But the expedition came to naught. The Pisans would not fight with Gisulf, who had basely ill-treated some of their traders; an insurrection among some of their dependants necessitated the departure of Beatrice and her daughter;[3] and Gregory himself fell grievously ill.

Final abandonment of the idea of a Crusade, and of using force against Guiscard.

When, after about two months and a half of sickness, contrary to the prognostications of those around him, and to his "grief rather than joy,"[4] Gregory recovered his health, there were reopened with Guiscard negotiations into which the military preparations of the Pope had caused him to enter, but which had been closed by the former's illness. The Norman duke offered to renew under every guarantee of fidelity his allegiance to the Pope.[5] But, seemingly on account of the difficulty of inducing Guiscard to respect

[1] I. 72, April 7, 1074. *Cf.* Aimé, vii. 12. [2] Aimé, *l.c.*
[3] Aimé, *l.c.*; ep. i. 85; Bonizo, l. vii.; and *Cod. Vat. A*, p. 315 f.
[4] II. 9, October 16, 1074. [5] Ep. cit.; *cf.* Aimé, vii. 14.

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his allies, Gregory delayed acceding to his offers;[1] and in the beginning of the year 1075 relations between the two were so far strained that there is some ground for believing that the Pope thought of calling upon a son of the Danish king, Svend Estrithson, to measure swords with Robert for his duchy.[2] He was the more anxious that the Norman duke should be reduced to peaceful subjection, seeing that fresh messengers had come from the East to implore his aid against the Turks. Not only had he made another effort to induce "all the faithful of St. Peter, especially those beyond the mountains," to cease fighting for perishable goods, and to come to him in order that together they might defend the Christian faith,[3] but he had asked the assistance of Henry IV. He had told him of the heart-rending appeals for succour which he had received from the East, and of the efforts he had made to move men to give their lives for their brethren. "Already," he had written, "more than 50,000 men are arming themselves, and, if they can have me as their priest and leader in the expedition, are ready to attack the enemies of God, and, under His guidance, to march even to the Lord's tomb. I am especially moved to undertake this expedition, because the Church of Constantinople, differing from us on the doctrine of the Holy Ghost, longs for reunion with the Apostolic See. Almost all the Armenians have fallen away from the Catholic faith. And most of the Orientals, in the midst of their diverse opinions, await the decision of the faith of the Apostle Peter. Especially in our time is ful-

[1] II. 9, to Beatrice and Matilda. "Scitote R. Guiscardum sæpe supplices legatos ad nos mittere. . . . Sed nos, non incertas rationes, cur illud sit adhuc differendum, considerantes, supernæ dispensationis et apostolicæ procurationis consilia præstolamur." *Cf.* Delarc, p. 103 ff.

[2] II. 51; Delarc, p. 106 ff.

[3] II. 37, December 16, 1074, "De adjutorio faciendo fratribus nostris, qui ultra mare in Constantinopolitano imperio habitant."

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filled the injunction which our Holy Redeemer deigned to impose on the Prince of the Apostles: 'I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not; and thou being once converted confirm thy brethren' (St. Luke xxii. 32). . . . But as great designs need great forethought and the help of the great, I shall turn to you for advice and support, if God gives me to make a beginning of this undertaking; for if, under God's favour, I shall go to the East, I shall entrust the care of the Roman Church to you, after God, to guard and defend it as your holy mother."[1]

But the time for the Crusades had not yet come; it was for others to reap what Gregory had sown. The princes were wrapped up in the pursuit of their own selfish ends; and knowledge of the sufferings of the Christians in the East had not yet spread deep enough to move the masses of the people. Gregory himself, too, had soon to cope with troubles nearer home than in Palestine. In little more than a year from the date of the dispatch of the letter just cited, he had written his last letter to Henry, had well-nigh lost his life at the hands of an assassin, and at the bidding of Henry IV. had been declared deposed from the Papacy by a council of German bishops.

General reform of the Church.

In the midst of all his exertions to effect local reforms, to put a curb on the grasping ambition of the Normans, and to carry through such a gigantic undertaking as a Crusade, Gregory did not lose sight of the necessity of furthering the general reform of the Church, so well inaugurated by his immediate predecessors. To this end, he began at an early date in his pontificate to make preparations for the holding of the first of the customary[2] Lenten

[1] II. 31. *Cf.* epp. coll. 11.

[2] "Non incognitum vobis esse credimus, in Romana ecclesia jam dudum constitutum esse, ut per singulos annos ad decorem et utilitatem S. ecclesiæ generale concilium apud sedem apostolicam sit

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synods which occupy such an important place in his reign. They were assembled not merely to make laws, but to advise the Pope in questions of religion, law, and policy; for, as Gregory himself wrote when summoning the Patriarch of Aquileia to the synod of 1074, "the more securely and firmly shall we be able to work for the good of ecclesiastical liberty and religion, the more abundantly and closely we are supported by the society and provident forethought of many of our fellow-bishops."[1]

First Lenten synod, March 1074.

With the exception of a few from France and Spain, most of the bishops who were present at Gregory's first synod were Italians. Among the distinguished laity who assisted at it were Gisulf, prince of Salerno, and the Countess Matilda. The principal work of the council was to renew the prohibitions already issued against simony and clerical incontinence.[2] All who had received holy orders or benefices by simoniacal practices were to lose them; and such as were guilty of incontinence were forbidden to exercise any sacred function. Should they presume to do so, the faithful were forbidden to assist at any celebration held by them.[3] Various particular cases

tenendum." I. 43, January 25, 1074, summoning the suffragans of Milan to the synod.

[1] I. 42, *ib.*

[2] "The prejudice and narrow-mindedness of modern times may see in Hildebrand nothing but an ambitious Pontiff, endeavouring to enforce on the clergy a restriction contrary to the Gospel. Not so thought his contemporaries; not so thought the morally earnest men of that time: to them, as to Hildebrand, the marriage of a priest seemed little short of adultery." Reichel, *The See of Rome in the Middle Ages*, p. 190, London, 1870.

[3] The *Acts* of this council are lost; but we know its decrees from letters written by Gregory to some of the great metropolitans, ordering them to publish and enforce them. II. 25, 45, and epp. coll. 3-5. *Cf.* a contemporary apology for the decrees of this synod, ap. *P. L.*, t. 148, p. 752 ff. It was the work of Bernald, among whose pamphlets it is *reprinted*, *ib.*, p. 1107 ff. See also Marianus Scotus and Sigebert, *Chron.*, 1074, and certain MSS. of Ekkehard of Aura, an. 1074, p. 946.

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were also decided at this synod,[1] and, as we have seen, Guiscard was excommunicated by it.

Papal legates proceed to Germany, 1074.

To secure the observance of these decrees, and, at the same time, to bring about a satisfactory understanding between Henry and the Holy See, and between the king and the rebellious Saxons, Gregory dispatched to Germany Cardinals Humbert and Gerald, bishops of Palæstrina and Ostia respectively. With them went the Empress Agnes,[2] full of anxiety for the spiritual condition of her son. Henry, as we shall see presently, seemed prepared to satisfy the legates in everything, and, outwardly at any rate, made no objection to their calling a council in order to deal with the bishops and abbots guilty of simony and incontinency. Headed, however, by Liemar, archbishop of Hamburg, the bishops at once raised a cry of "Privilege!" They maintained that, in accordance with ancient custom, the archbishop of Mainz was the Pope's representative in Germany, and that, therefore, mere legates could not hold a synod in the country under his jurisdiction. It would have to be held by the Pope himself.[3] According to Bonizo, it was at Henry's suggestion that the bishops put forward this specious argument, as he did not wish the synod to be held. But Lambert will have it that Henry was really anxious for the holding of the synod, because, as most of the bishops were tainted with simony, he hoped to bring about the deposition of his enemies, especially the Saxon bishops. And as Henry was not averse to abandoning a friend if he could serve himself, Lambert is probably right. The result, however, was that the synod could not

[1] *Cf.* epp. i. 51–58. *Cf.* Hefele, *Conc.*, vi. p. 476 ff., § 569, French ed.

[2] Bonizo, l. vii. p. 657, ed. Jaffé, and the chroniclers Berthold, Lambert, etc., an. 1074.

[3] Bonizo, l. vii., and *Cod. Vat. A*, both ap. Watterich, i. 310 f. *Cf.* Lambert, *l.c.*

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be held, and that, after a time, Liemar was suspended by the Pope from the performance of his episcopal functions till he should present himself in Rome to explain his conduct.[1] Liemar was furious, and gave vent to his feelings in a letter which he wrote[2] to the bishop of Hildesheim: "A dangerous man wishes to order bishops about as if they were his stewards; and if they do not fulfil all his behests, they are summoned to Rome, and suspended before being tried."

Disturbances caused by attempts to enforce the decrees of 1074.

Before returning to Rome, loaded with presents from Henry, the legates instructed the metropolitans to put the decrees of the Roman synod into force. An attempt to do so on the part of the archbishop of Mainz caused a furious outburst of indignation among his clergy. The Pope must be a heretic, they exclaimed, to want to force men to live like angels. They would give up their orders rather than their wives, they said, and the Pope might get angels to take their place.[3] So strong, indeed, in certain parts of Germany was the feeling aroused by the attempt to enforce the law of celibacy, that some of the metropolitans, in endeavouring to do so, barely escaped with their lives. The opposition was the stronger since, no doubt, not a few of the clergy had taken to themselves wives, because they really believed that custom at least allowed them to do so.

[1] Ep. ii. 28, "Prædictis etiam delictis nobis persuadentibus, ab omni episcopali officio . . . te suspendimus."

[2] Seemingly about January 1075. The letter will be found in Bernheim's useful collection: *Quellen zur Geschicte des Investiturstreites*, i. p. 58 f.

[3] "Malle se sacerdocium quam conjugium deserere, et tunc visurum eum . . . unde gubernandis per æcclesiam Dei plebibus angelos comparaturum esse." Lambert, 1074, p. 199, ed. Holder-Egger. *Cf.* the opposition of his clergy on this subject to the holy bishop, Altmann of Passau. See his *Life*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 148, p. 878. Some authors refer these disturbances to 1075.

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The laity to help in the reform of the clergy.

Though similar disturbances took place in France[1] also, Gregory was not the man to be daunted by displays of violence when there was question of his duty. If the bishops would not be reformed by the Pope, nor the clergy by the bishops, he would bring both to a sense of their duty by the people. Writing to the dukes, Rudolf of Suabia, and Bertulf of Carinthia, he reminds them that most of the bishops have done nothing to give effect to the decrees of council after council since the days of Pope Leo IX. As these decrees concern such weighty matters as simony and clerical incontinence, he will have to employ fresh means to see that they are observed. "It seems to us much better to reconstruct the justice of God even by new methods, than to suffer the souls of men to perish along with the neglected laws. We, therefore, exhort you and all men, whatever henceforth the bishops may say or not say, to refuse, nay, if possible to hinder by force, the ministrations of all those whom you know to be tainted with simony or incontinency. If any should protest that to take such action is outside your province, tell them that they must not interfere with your salvation or that of the people, and that they must come to us to complain of the obedience we have laid on you."[2] Another letter addressed to all the clergy and laity "in the kingdom of the Teutons," bids them not obey those bishops who countenance want of chastity on the part of their clergy, since they themselves do not obey the orders of the Apostolic See, nor the authority of the Fathers.[3]

There is no doubt that this "lay remedy" was a drastic one, and productive of some harm by its giving the laity the idea that they were the judges of their pastors; but

[1] Delarc, iii. 86. [2] II. 45.
[3] Epp. coll. 10, December 1074.

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then all severe remedial measures cause at least some temporary harm, and yet are justified by the permanent gain obtained by them. And so the firmness of Gregory ultimately triumphed over the frantic opposition which it aroused, for men and not angels have since been found in every land ready to serve God and His Church in the observance of that chastity on which he insisted.

First relations with Henry IV.

As his relations with Henry IV. constitute the most salient feature in Gregory's career, it is of importance that they should be clearly traced from their commencement. The first point in connection with them which makes itself at once manifest is the effort made by Gregory to develop in Henry a sense of responsibility, and to promote the harmonious working of the spiritual and temporal powers for the benefit of mankind. Understanding, however, that it was with them as with individual men, and that, therefore, each of them could work best when most free, he ceased not withal to strive for the full freedom of the Church.

He began his pontifical life, as we have seen, by notifying his election to Henry, and perhaps by a request, *pro forma*, that he would acknowledge it. At the same time, writing as "Roman Pontiff elect" to Duke Godfrey of Lorraine, he laid bare to him "his mind and wishes" with regard to the king. "No one," he wrote, "is more anxious and solicitous for his present and future honour than we are. It is our intention on the first opportunity to approach him through our legates with paternal love, and to treat with him on what we believe of importance for the advantage of the Church, and the honour of his royal dignity. If he will listen to us, we shall rejoice in his salvation as much as our own, for he will certainly attain it, if, in maintaining justice, he will give heed to our admonitions and advice. But if, which we trust will not

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be the case, he returns us hatred for love, and, setting aside what is justly due to God, he repays Him with contempt for the honours He has bestowed upon him, the threat: 'Cursed be he that withholdeth his sword from blood' (Jer. xlviii. 10), shall, by the mercy of God, not fall upon me. After the words of the apostle: 'If I yet pleased men, I should not be the servant of Christ' (Gal. i. 10), we may not put aside the law of God for the sake of anyone, nor for man's favour leave the path of rectitude."[1]

What was, at this time especially, distressing Gregory in Henry's conduct was his continuing to consort with those worthless favourites of his who had been excommunicated by Alexander II.;[2] not to speak of his attitude towards the Saxons, and towards the Church of Milan. It was not, as he assured Rudolf of Suabia, that he was animated by any malevolent feelings towards Henry; for "we have chosen him king,[3] and, among all the Italians at the court of his father, the Emperor Henry, of praiseworthy memory, we were specially honoured; and, when the said emperor came to die, he entrusted this son of his to the Roman Church in the person of Pope Victor, of venerable memory." That there might be true harmony between the Church and the State,[4] he thought it advisable to hold a

[1] I. 9, May 2, 1073. *Cf.* i. 11 to Beatrice and Matilda, in which he writes to the same effect.

[2] I. 21. *Cf.* i. 20.

[3] I. 19. "Ipsum in regem elegimus." Was it by Gregory's advice that, to avoid the risk of a disputed succession, the Emperor Henry III. had his child-son crowned? When that event took place (July 1054) he was north of the Alps. In i. 20, he declares that it is his one wish that no one should surpass Henry in worldly prosperity or in holiness of life, and that he would do all that in him lay, in order that, when he came into Italy, he might find everything tranquil.

[4] "Sed quia concordiam istam, scilicet sacerdotii et imperii, nihil fictum nihil nisi purum decet habere, videtur nobis omnino utile," etc. I. 19.

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conference with Rudolf of Suabia, the Empress Agnes, the Duchess Beatrice, and other God-fearing persons, in order that his relations with the king might be regulated by their advice.[1]

Henry writes most submissively to the Pope, autumn, 1073.

Before this projected conference could be realised, the Pope received from Henry a letter "full of sweetness and deference (*obedientia*), such as," wrote Gregory,[2] "neither he nor any of his predecessors ever, as far as we can remember, wrote to a Roman Pontiff." The fact was that Henry had received a serious blow from the Saxons,[3] with whom he had been at enmity for some time, and was anxious to secure the friendship of the Pope. His letter was addressed: "To the most watchful and most beloved Lord Pope Gregory, gifted from heaven with the apostolic dignity, Henry, by the grace of God, king of the Romans, loyally offers the homage which is his due (*debiti famulatus*).

"That the Church and the State (*regnum et sacerdotium*), fitly directed in Christ, may endure, they have ever need of one another's help. Hence is it proper, my lord and well-beloved father, that they should never quarrel, but should rather, by the bond of Christ, ever most closely adhere to one another." Henry then proceeds to acknowledge that he has not always treated the Church as he ought to have done, and that he has not always used the sword of justice aright. Led astray by youth, by the possession of unlimited power, and by interested advisers, he has seized ecclesiastical property, and handed churches over to unworthy men. But now, touched by the mercy of God, he begs the Pope's forgiveness and help to amend matters,

[1] I. 19. *Cf.* i. 20, 21. Gregory will do all he can for Henry if he will honour God "et formam sanctorum regum, omissis puerilibus studiis, sapienter imitari." I. 24.

[2] I. 25. *Cf.* epp. coll. 14; iii. 10.

[3] *Cf. infra*, p. 107.

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and he would have him assist him in the first place to bring order into the Church of Milan.[1]

Legates dispatched to Germany, 1074.

Supposing Henry to be in earnest, Gregory was much touched, and began to look forward with confidence to the great reforms which could be effected by a Pope and an emperor working together. It was not, however, till after his Lenten synod (1074) that he was able to send legates to Germany to take advantage of the king's good disposition, so that peace might be made between him and the Saxons, and that joint action for the reform of the Church might be concerted. He had been much distressed at the news of the slaughter of men, of the plundering of churches and the poor, and of the general devastation which reached him from the seat of war.[2] And he had written both to the king and the Saxons, imploring them to refrain from hostilities till his legates could arrive, and bring about a lasting peace.

When Cardinal Humbert and the other legates of the Pope[3] reached Germany, Henry was at Bamberg; but as its bishop was guilty of simony, and the legates would not, therefore, go thither, the king came to Nuremberg, where they had halted.[4] He was the more anxious to meet them, seeing that he had been completely worsted by the Saxons. In demolishing the fortress of Harzburg, which he had built to

[1] I. 29 *a*. *Cf.* i. 25. Writing to Herlembald, the champion of reform in Milan, he says: "Quidam etiam ex majoribus fidelibus suis (Henry's) promittunt nobis ex parte sui eum de causa Mediolanensis ecclesiæ sine dubio consilio nostro obedire."

[2] Writing to the Saxon chiefs (December 1073) he says that the war between them and King Henry, "their lord," is one of the greatest of his anxieties, hearing as he does of the resulting "homicidia, incendia, deprædationes ecclesiarum et pauperum," etc. I. 39.

[3] *Cf. supra*, p. 68.

[4] "Noluerunt (legati) esse in pascha cum rege in civitate Bamberg, ne societatem Hermanni ejusdem civitatis episcopi, qui olim comparavit episcopatum . . . haberent." Marianus Scotus, *Chron.*, 1074. *Cf.* Bernald, *De damn. Scism.*, ii. 36, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, ii.

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overawe them, they had gone even to the length of digging up the bodies of his relatives which he had buried in the chapel within its walls (March 1074). Unable to avenge this sacrilegious violence, he had turned for help to the Pope and to the laws of the Church; for, as he said, both the civil laws and arms had failed him.[1]

Henry absolved from censures.

It may perhaps be remembered that it has already been pointed out that this embassy was not wholly successful.[2] The legates were prevented from holding a council, and do not seem to have been able to effect anything towards settling the Saxon difficulties. But both they and the Pope thought that not a little had been done when Henry professed sorrow for the simony of which he had been guilty, and sought and obtained absolution from the general censures pronounced against all such as were guilty of that sin.[3] Besides, he promised to remedy certain abuses at once, and professed the utmost devotion to the Pope. Some of these undertakings he carried out to the letter; but others, notably one with regard to the Church of Milan, he made little or no attempt to fulfil.[4] The fact was that, so far as personal, or, indeed, any other kind of real reforms were

[1] "Legatos Romam misit, sedem apostolicam contra eos interpellare, qui ecclesiam incendissent . . . sepulchra violassent," etc. Lambert, 1074, p. 185. *Cf.* Bernried, c. 64, and Bruno, c. 64. Some of these references seem to relate to an embassy which Henry sent in 1075. Hence, if Lambert has not made a mistake, Henry must be said to have dispatched two embassies regarding the Saxons—a thing far from unlikely.

[2] *Cf. supra*, p 68.

[3] Lambert, 1074, p. 194; ep. i. 85. Gregory congratulates the Empress Agnes "filium vestrum Heinricum regem communioni ecclesiæ restitui. . . . Quoniam, illo extra communionem posito, nos quidem timor divinæ ultionis secum convenire prohibuit." The letter is dated June 15, 1074.

[4] Ep. ii. 30, December 1074, in which Gregory thanks Henry for the reception he gave to the legates, and for promising to extirpate simony and clerical incontinence.

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concerned, Henry was not in earnest. His worthless counsellors, or rather companions of his base pleasures, were not dismissed; nor were any serious efforts made by him to be just, either towards the Church or towards the Saxons. It was impossible for him, however, to deceive the most watchful Gregory for ever, although the Pope showed himself determined to believe the best of him, and to close his eyes to his shortcomings as long as he could. But the second year of Gregory's pontificate will not have closed ere we shall see him striking directly at Henry's evil advisers and evil ways.

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CHAPTER V.

LESS AMICABLE RELATIONS BETWEEN HENRY AND THE POPE. THE BEGINNINGS OF THE INVESTITURE DISPUTE. THE CHURCH OF MILAN. THE ATTACK ON GREGORY BY CENCIUS.

IN February 1075 Gregory held his second Lenten synod, at which assisted "a multitude of archbishops, bishops,[1] and abbots, and a very great number of clerics and laymen."[2] Knowing that constantly falling water wears away the hardest rock, the assembled Fathers renewed the decrees against the *heresies* of Simon Magus and Nicholas, and again forbade the faithful to attend the clerical functions performed by those known to be tainted by them.[3] For various offences several bishops were suspended, among others, Liemar of Hamburg and Heriman, or Herman, of Bamberg. Philip, king of France, was threatened with excommunication for brigandage and simony, and Guiscard, with his nephew, Robert of Loritello, was again laid under the ban of the Church, "as an invader of the goods of St. Peter."[4] Synod, Feb. 24–28, 1075.

But this synod derives its special importance from the steps taken by it against King Henry, and against the practice of investiture. Pope Alexander had declared some of Henry's evil counsellors excommunicated,[5] and Gregory had, in letter after letter, implored Henry to avoid those

[1] Hugh of Flavigny says fifty bishops. *Chron.*, l. ii., ap. *P. L.*, t. 154, p. 277.

[2] Ep. ii. 52 *a*. [3] Marianus, Bernald, Berthold, *Chron.*, 1075.

[4] "Invasores bonorum S. Petri." Ep. ii. 52 *a*.

[5] In 1073, "ortatu imperatricis." Bonizo, l. vi.

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advisers who placed gain before justice.[1] The action of Alexander, and the words of Gregory were both alike in vain. Accordingly, picking out five "of the household of the king of the Teutons, by whose advice churches are sold,"[2] the Pope declared them excommunicated, unless they came to Rome, and made suitable satisfaction before the 1st of June.

The question of investiture broached.

But this synod of February 1075 took other work in hand which touched Henry more nearly than even the proceedings against certain of his youthful and dissolute counsellors. In estimating the causes of the evils which were stifling the life of the Church, the assembly concluded that the most deadly was *investiture*. Through it the Church was really ruled by the lay nobility, who used their power over it to replenish their coffers, exhausted by extravagance, the cost of war, and other causes. The powerful but too frequently sold the ecclesiastical positions under their control to the highest bidders, who, when in office, did likewise. Clergy thus appointed were naturally not men imbued with the spirit of their calling. They were laymen at heart, and acted as such. They took to themselves wives, and thought more of them and of their families than they did of the work of God. Were investiture killed, argued the synod, the most poisonous root which was infecting the garden of the Church would be destroyed. To effect its destruction,[3] the following important decree was drawn up: "If anyone shall from henceforth receive from the hand of any layman a

[1] Ep. ii. 31. *Cf. ib.* 30.

[2] Ep. ii. 52 *a*, De synodo Romano. *Cf.* ep. i. 21; iii. 10, *L. P.*

[3] "That the Pope was perfectly justified in seeking to deprive the emperor of a usurped right of filling, through corruption or court favour, ecclesiastical dignities with the weakest and most vicious of men, will not be denied. Had not the Holy See interposed, religion itself would for ever have been attached to the imperial car, and, from a ruling power, converted into a slave." Dunham, *The Germanic Empire*, i. 145–146.

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bishopric or abbey, let him not be accounted a bishop or abbot, and let no one treat him as a bishop or abbot. We deprive him, moreover, of the grace of St. Peter, and of the right of entry into the Church, until he shall have given up the position he has secured by the sin of ambition and of disobedience, which is as the sin of idolatry. And similarly do we decree concerning the lesser dignities of the Church. Further, if any emperor, duke, marquis, count, or any temporal lord, or indeed any secular person whosoever, shall presume to give investiture of any bishopric or of any ecclesiastical dignity, let him understand that he is bound by the same sentence."[1]

The Pope proposes negotiation with regard to it.

The Fathers of the synod, however, not unmindful that large numbers of ecclesiastics held lands of feudal chiefs, and would hence owe some kind of acknowledgment for them, realised that there was room for compromise in this matter of investiture. And so, after affirming, in accordance "with the decrees of the Fathers,"[2] the rights of the Church with regard to the appointment of its officials, they would appear to have put forth their decree as it were tentatively,[3] and not definitely, as they did in March 1080.[4] It would seem, at any rate, that it was in connection with this decree that Gregory made an offer of negotiation in the last letter which he wrote to Henry. While affirming that in drawing up the decision in question there had been no

[1] Hugh of Flavigny, l. ii., p. 277; Anselm of Lucca, *Contra Guibertum*, l. ii. p. 469, ap. *P. L.*, t. 149. Arnulf (*Gesta*, iv. 7) expresses the decree thus: "Papa . . . palam interdicit regi jus deinde habere aliquod in dandis episcopatibus, omnesque laicas ab investuris ecclesiarum summovet personas. Insuper facto anathemate cunctos regis clamat consciliarios, id ipsum regi comminatus, nisi in proximo huic obediat constituto." The poem of Rangerius, bishop of Lucca (*De anulo et baculo*, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, ii.) begins and ends with the same two lines:

"Anulus et baculus, duo sunt sacra signa, nec ullo
De laici manibus suscipienda modo."

[2] Ep. iii. 10. [3] Delarc, iii. 135 f. [4] Ep. vii. 14 *a*.

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innovation, the Pontiff wrote: "However, lest this decree should appear to you unduly severe, we have instructed those of your subjects who are here (*fideles tui*) to beg you not to allow the change of a bad custom to disturb you, but to send to us some of the good and wise men of your country. If they can show how, without sacrificing God's honour, or endangering our soul's salvation, we can modify the decree of the Fathers which has been promulgated, we will willingly follow their opinions. And even if we had not made you this friendly offer, it would have been proper, before you violated the apostolic decrees, to have shown us in what we had aggrieved you or detracted from the honour which is your due. But your after conduct proclaimed how much you care for our admonitions, or for the observance of justice."[1]

In the interval, however, between his hearing of the investiture decree and his receiving this letter from the Pope, Henry's position at home had materially improved. He had defeated the Saxons on the Unstrut (June), and had received their submission (October).[2] He was in a better position to set at naught the laws of God and man with at least temporary impunity.

Henry still cultivates the friendship of the Pope.

Before the final surrender of the Saxons he had continued to temporise to some extent with the Papacy. Gregory had never ceased his efforts to reform the Church in Germany, exhorting its archbishops to enforce his decrees,[3] summoning to Rome bishops accused of simony,[4] and reminding all of them that "it has ever been the right of the Church of Rome, and ever will be, to devise against fresh disorders new laws and remedies which, put forth as they are with the sanction of reason and authority, may not be regarded as null by any man."[5] With the zeal of

[1] Ep. iii. 10, Dec. 1075. [2] *Cf. infra*, p. 80. [3] Ep. ii. 61, 66, 68.
[4] Ep iii. 1. *Cf.* ii. 76; iii. 4. [5] Ep. ii. 67.

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the Pope, Henry made some pretence of co-operating, and even succeeded in winning Gregory's approval for his efforts.[1] Moreover, "perceiving," as he said, "that nearly all the great ones of his kingdom rejoiced more over any discord between the Pope and himself than over their good understanding,"[2] he sent envoys to confirm that understanding, and to ask for the imperial crown. To this Gregory had replied[3] that he desired to have Christ's peace "not only with you, whom God has placed in the highest human position," but with all men. He had begun, he continued, to conceive great hopes when he perceived that Henry had commenced to entrust the affairs of the Church to men who really loved the rulers of the Church and State, and not what they could get from them. "The counsel of these men I am prepared to follow, to open to you the bosom of the Roman Church, to accept you as my lord, my brother, and my son, and to help you as opportunity offers, asking nothing of you but that you should attend to the advice which is offered you regarding your salvation, and that you should not refuse to offer to your Creator the honour and glory which is His due."

The Church of Milan, 1075.

But although, as early as September 11, Gregory unfolded to Beatrice and Matilda[4] certain reasons for distrust which Henry had already given him, no overt act of hostility had then taken place between them. Events that took place in Milan caused Henry definitely to throw off the mask, and to make it evident that he would not be thwarted by the laws of the Church if he could help it.

[1] Ep. iii. 3, July 1075.

[2] Quoted by Gregory in a letter (iii. 5) to Beatrice and Matilda, September 11, 1075. Henry's letter was written in July.

[3] III. 7, *c.* the close of August. Even as late as November we find Henry so far acting in harmony with Gregory as to abandon the cause of the excommunicated Herman of Bamberg. *Cf.* Lambert, 1075, p. 239 f.

[4] III. 5.

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When Gregory became Pope, the See of Milan was in the hands of Godfrey, who had been simoniacally elected, while Atto, who was its legitimate bishop, was in exile in Rome.[1] Headed by the knight Herlembald, who was vigorously supported by Gregory,[2] the Patarines were able to deprive Godfrey of any influence.[3] Unfortunately, however, Herlembald committed the great mistake of interfering in matters of comparatively trifling account when great issues were at stake. In attempting to enforce in Milan the use of the Roman liturgy, he was slain (*c.* May 1075) by the Milanese *capitanei*,[4] in accordance with a promise they had previously made to Henry.[5]

The death of Herlembald was one of the greatest misfortunes which could have befallen the party of reform in north Italy. It was now without a head. The power of Gregory's enemies there was further strengthened by the adhesion to their ranks of Archbishop Guibert of Ravenna. He had been deposed by Gregory for refusing to attend the synod of February.[6] Despising excommunication, the shifty Cardinal Hugo Candidus also transferred his allegiance to the foes of the Church, and vainly endeavoured to induce Robert Guiscard to do likewise.[7]

Ebehard sent into Italy, 1075.

With the Saxons under his feet, and north Italy by his side, Henry felt that he was in a position to dictate. To extend, however, his influence in Italy, he sent thither, as his agent, Count Ebehard of Nellenburg (*c.* the end of November). Ebehard was one of the king's counsellors

[1] *Cf. supra*, vi. p. 302. [2] l. 25–28.

[3] Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, l. vi. p. 652 ff., ed. Jaffé.

[4] *Ib.*, l. vii. p. 663; Arnulf, *Hist. Med.*, iv. 10; Landulf, *Mediol. Hist.*, iii. 29, ap. *R. I. SS.*, iv.

[5] Bonizo, *ib.*, p. 659. "Ei (Henry) promittunt (Mediolanenses capitanei, ecclesiarum venditores), et Patariam destructuros et Herlimbaldum occisuros."

[6] Bonizo, *ib.*, p. 663. [7] *Ib.*, pp. 662–663.

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who had been excommunicated by the Pope, and the choice of such an envoy shows the spirit in which Henry was acting. Ebehard's first mission was to the Milanese. He congratulated them on having slain Herlembald, declared the Patarines public enemies, made war on some of them, and, as though wantoning in power, proposed to the *capitanei* of Milan to elect yet another archbishop.[1] Nothing loath, they chose a cleric named Tedald (or Theobald), a man of noble family, but "of more stoutness than virtue." It is to be presumed that Godfrey was for some cause or other not sufficiently active in the interests of the schismatical party.[2] At any rate, though he had previously invested Godfrey, Henry now invested Tedald —"an extraordinary proceeding," adds even the imperialist Arnulf, "and one altogether hitherto unheard of, that a city, which has one bishop elect, and a second consecrated, should have a third bestowed upon it."[3]

Ebehard, in his endeavours to increase his master's hold on Italy, did not confine himself to north Italy. Like Hugo Candidus, he tampered with Guiscard's loyalty, such as it was, to the Pope. In company with Gregory, bishop of Vercelli, he visited Guiscard, and endeavoured to persuade him that his possessions and prospects would be surer if he held his conquests of the king, and not of the Pope. But the wily Norman replied that to ensure his continuing to receive the aid of God and the holy apostles, Peter and Paul, he preferred to remain a vassal of the Pope; but that if the king, out of his abundance, were to

[1] Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, l. vii. p. 664. "Pro morte Erlimbaldi gratias agens . . . omnes Paterinos publicos regis clamavit inimicos." He speaks of Tedald: "Satis corpore pinguem, set virtutibus tenuem."

[2] Hence Arnulf (*Hist. Med.*, v. 5) says that Tedald was received by the clergy and people, who were "novarum rerum usualiter avido." *Cf.* the very *ex parte* version of Landulf, *Med. Hist.*, iv. 2.

[3] *Hist.*, *l.c.*

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grant him some additional lands, he would, without sacrifice of his fidelity to the Church, acknowledge the suzerainty of the king in their regard.[1]

Though baffled by Robert, Ebehard was able to report to his master that he might count on north Italy, and need not be afraid of opposition from the Normans. Their duke was too much engrossed with his own plans to concern himself with the doings of the king or the Pope, so long as neither of them interfered with southern Italy.

Gregory tries to bring Tedald to a sense of his duty.

Despite the fact that Gregory's rights, both spiritual and temporal, had been so flouted by Henry, he still endeavoured to avoid a conflict. He wrote in a firm but conciliatory spirit to Tedald, reminding him of the previous election of Atto, exhorting him to come to Rome under a safe conduct, in order that his claims might be carefully examined, and forbidding him in the meantime to receive any sacred orders. "If you do not see fit to obey us now, you will regret it when, by your hastiness, you find yourself immersed in an abyss whence you will not be able to extricate yourself, even when you wish." In fine, he warned him not to heed those who would persuade him to trust in the might of the king, of the nobility, and of his fellow-citizens. "The power of kings and emperors, and all the efforts of all men against the rights of the Apostolic See, and the omnipotence of the great God, are as a little ash and straw."[2] This letter was immediately followed by another to Gregory of Vercelli and the other suffragans of Milan, forbidding them, in the meanwhile, to bestow any sacred orders on Tedald, "whom the king has placed in the Church of Milan against his written and verbal promise."[3]

[1] Aimé, vii. 27. *Cf.* Arnulf. [2] Ep. iii. 8, December 7, 1075.
[3] Ep. iii. 9, December 9, 1075. "Quem rex, præter quam nobis litteris ac legatorum verbis promiserit, in Mediolanensem ecclesiam posuit." *Cf.* iii. 10.

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Tedald paid no regard to Gregory's earnest exhortations, but took forcible possession of the archbishopric of Milan;[1] and Henry, without the slightest reference to the Pope, and in defiance of all right, bestowed the Sees of Fermo and Spoleto on two of his clerics.[2]

Gregory's last letter to Henry, 1075.

This outrageous conduct drew from Gregory a strong protest, which took the form of a letter to Henry. It is the last, as far at least as we know, that the Pope addressed to him.

"Gregory, servant of the servants of God, to King Henry health and apostolic benediction, if he yields to the Apostolic See that obedience which is due from a Christian king."

In the first instance, Henry is reminded that, if the report be true that he consorts with those who have been excommunicated, he is not in a condition to receive the blessing either of Heaven or of the Holy See. If he feels himself guilty in this respect, he should, by a prompt confession, secure the good advice of some holy bishop. The Pope assured Henry that he empowered the prelate of his choice to absolve him, and to impose a suitable penance upon him. With the king's consent the said bishop could make known to the Pope the measure of his repentance.

Henry is next upbraided because his honied words, and those of his envoys, do not in the least correspond with his action, for instance, with regard to the Churches of Milan, Fermo, and Spoleto. As he calls himself a son of the Church, it behoves him to show respect to its head, St. Peter, and his successors. Consequently, when the Pope speaks in conformity with the dictates of the Fathers, he who would obey the ordinance of God must conform to his admonitions.[3]

[1] He was finally driven from it, *c.* 1080. *Cf.* Bonizo, *l.c.*

[2] Ep. iii. 10.

[3] "Scimus . . . qui fidelem Deo obœdientiam exhibere non rennuit, in his quæ sanctorum patrum statuta sequentes dixerimus . . . nostra monita servare non spernit." Ep. iii. 10, written apparently not in the beginning of January 1076, but of December 1075.

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Referring, then, to the synod of February 1075, and, seemingly, to a decree against investitures passed thereat, the Pope expresses his willingness to compromise in that matter as far as is at all possible.[1]

This, one of Gregory's very few long letters, concludes with the hope that the natural development of Henry's intellect will lead him to obey the behests of Christ, and not to interfere with the liberty of the Church, His spouse.[2] God has given him a great victory: let him not, then, imitate Saul, who, under similar circumstances, drunk with glory, despised the words of the priests, but rather let him copy the humility of David.

Cencius, the son of Stephen.

How little this paternal exhortation affected Henry, the sequel will show. But while his criminal administration was deservedly raising up life-long enemies against him, Gregory's conscientious endeavours to promote the cause of God and man were having the same effect in his regard. One of the most bitter of his foes was Cencius,[3] the son of Stephen, once prefect of the city. Cencius was a worthy survivor of the worst type of the Roman robber-baron of the tenth century. In the castle of St. Angelo he had given an asylum to Cadaloüs (1063); and in forts which he possessed in the Campagna and by the bridge of St. Peter he found both a coign of vantage whence to prey upon the weak, and a place of refuge from the hands of justice. Convicted at length of trying by forgery to obtain property that belonged to the Holy See, he would have been put to death, but for the intercession of the Countess Matilda.[4]

[1] *Vide supra*, p. 79 f.

[2] "Paterna te caritate monemus: ut Christi super te imperium recognoscens, . . . libertatem ecclesiæ, quam sponsam sibi cœlesti consortio jungere dignatus est, non jam tua occupatione impedias." *Ib.*, December 1075. *Cf.* Declarc, iii. 184 n., on the date.

[3] Crescentius, Cintius, Quintius are all used as equivalent to Cencius

[4] Bonizo, l. vii. pp. 660, 661, 664; Bernried, *vit.*, c. 45.

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Hating the hand that had set him free, he spent the year 1075 in gathering round him other evil-doers who had suffered from, or who feared, the justice of Gregory. By the close of the year his plans were matured. He would slay the man who had granted him his life, and he would do the deed on the first convenient opportunity.

Cencius seizes the Pope, Dec. 25, 1075.

His chance came at Christmas time. On Christmas Eve a terrific storm burst over the city of Rome. The wind howled through its narrow streets, and brought down such a tempest of rain that the terrified people were not only unable to go to so distant a church as that of St. Mary Major, where the Pope was wont to inaugurate the devotions of Christmas time,[1] but, while kept within doors, were led to think of the great Deluge, and of what a suitable day it was for the commission of a great crime.[2]

The storm, however, did not prevent Gregory from leaving his palace and going to the exposed Church of St. Mary on the Esquiline Hill. There he sang Mass, and it is to be supposed partook, in company with all his court, of the special banquet which it was the duty of the cardinal-bishop of Albano to furnish on that day.[3]

The accomplices of Cencius were on the watch. If there were[4] few at the Pope's Mass on Christmas Eve, there would be still fewer at his midnight Mass. When the darkness of night added to the horrors of the storm,

[1] *Cf.* the practically contemporary *Ordo Romanus XI.*, c. 14, of Canon Benedict. It was written within a few years after 1130. It may be read ap. *P. L.*, t. 78.

[2] "Loquebantur enim quodamodo mundi elementa futurum scelus et inauditum facinus præsagiebant." Bernried, c. 49. Our account of this thrilling incident in Gregory's life is taken for the most part from the dramatic narrative of Bernried.

[3] Ordo, *l.c.* The cardinal had also on this occasion to present to the papal court "duo optima busta porcorum," two fine carcases of pork.

[4] Bernried says, *l.c.*, the Pope went to St. Mary's "cum parvo clericorum ac laicorum numero."

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Cencius gathered together his gang, armed them, and provided them with horses, so that they might ride away in safety after they had slain the Pope or seized him alive. Gregory said his first Mass at the altar where, according to tradition, was preserved the manger in which our Saviour had been laid. He and the assistant clergy had just communicated, and were distributing the Body of the Lord to the faithful, when, on a sudden, there rang through the great, almost empty basilica the sound of the clash of arms and the fierce cries of bloodthirsty men. The ruffians who had thus violated the House of God made a dash for the chapel in which the Pope was celebrating. Those who opposed them or were in their way were struck down with the sword. One of the band even made a wild attempt to strike off the head of the Pope,[1] but did no more than inflict a severe wound on his forehead. His comrades, however, seized Gregory, tore off with the utmost violence his pallium, his chasuble, his dalmatic, and his tunic, hurried him from the church, and forced him, still clad in his alb and stole, on to the back of a horse behind one of the gang, as if he had been a common thief. Then, as though the fiend were behind them as well as in their hearts, the whole troop charged through the blinding storm to one of the towers of Cencius by the Piazza Navona.[2]

In the midst of all this brutal fury, we are told that Gregory, "like an innocent and gentle lamb," did naught but raise his eyes to heaven. He gave his assailants no answer, upbraided them not, resisted them not, nor begged for mercy. But we are equally told that the wretch who

[1] To this Gregory himself alluded at the synod of 1080. "Membra diaboli contra me cœperunt insurgere, et usque ad sanguinem præsumpserunt in me manus suas inicere." *Regest.*, vii. 14 *a*, p. 401.

[2] "In loco, qui vocatur Parrioni" (*L. P.*). The regio Parrionis was in the neighbourhood of the Church of St. Agnes on the Circus Flamineus (Piazza Navona); it is the modern sixth quarter, rione Parione.

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had struck the Pontiff with his sword was possessed by the devil, and for a long time lay rolling on the ground foaming at the mouth in front of the atrium of the church, while his horse galloped away and was seen no more.

The news of the dread deed which had been done soon spread through the city, for the storm ceased as though "not to hinder the people who were zealous with the zeal of the Lord." The altars of the churches were at once stripped, and all divine services were brought to an abrupt end. All the rest of the night the alarum bells rang out, and trumpets sounded, while soldiers patrolled the city to find whither the Pope had been carried, and men were set to watch the gates, lest an attempt should be made to carry him out of the city.

Meanwhile in his prison Gregory was being treated with sympathy and with insolence and violence. "A certain man, with a certain noble matron," were carried off, we are told, along with the Pope. And while the man tried to warm him by covering him with his own furs, and placing his cold feet against his breast, the matron dressed the wound on his forehead, and fearlessly denounced his captors.

But while one woman tried to console him, another, the sister of Cencius, did not hesitate to revile him in the bitterest terms; and her brother's bravos added their threats to her vituperations. Cencius himself stood over him with his drawn sword, and with all the fury of a madman threatened him with the direst extremities if he did not hand over to him his treasure and the castle of St. Angelo, and his other strongest castles.[1]

At length, as a result of inquiries and searches eagerly prosecuted in every direction, word was brought to the

[1] "Ibi diu gladio super collum illius furialiter stricto, torvus, minax et omnifariam terrificus, thesaurum et firmissima S. Petri castella in beneficia sibi extorquere non cessavit ab eo; set omnino non potuit." Berthold, *Chron.*, 1076.

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people assembled in the Capitol that their beloved bishop was alive, but was a captive in a tower of Cencius. With loud shouts all encouraged one another to vengeance, and as soon as morning broke they precipitated themselves on the fortress with the utmost fury. "Not a man thought of his own danger, but, utterly forgetful of himself, fought with all his might." Fire, battering-rams, and siege-engines of every kind soon reduced Cencius and his gang to straits. A javelin hurled from without by one of the assailants pierced a ruffian in the throat who was at the moment threatening to cut off the head of the Pope. "It threw his body," adds Paul Bernried, "quivering in death to the ground, and sent his soul to hell."

Overcome now with the fear of immediate death, Cencius fell upon his knees before the Pontiff he had so grievously outraged, and implored his forgiveness. For the injuries he had inflicted on himself Gregory freely granted him pardon, but to atone for his offences against God he commanded him to present himself to him again after having made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. But there was not even a spark of virtue in Cencius. No sooner was he free than he threw himself into one of his castles in the Campagna, ravaged the property of the Roman Church,[1] and continued till the hour of his death his machinations against the man who had with great difficulty succeeded in saving his life.[2]

Masters of the tower, the people escorted the Pope at his own request back to the Church of St. Mary Major with feelings not only of joy, but of grief, for they realised when they saw him covered with blood something of what he had been made to suffer. When he reached the church, Gregory, supported by two assistants,[3] calmly concluded before them

[1] Berthold, *Chron.*, 1076. *Cf.* Lambert, 1076, p. 253. [2] *Ib.*

[3] Bertholdus, abbot of Zwifalten, who resigned in 1169, *Liber de constructione monast. Zwifildensis*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, x. p. 101. He calls Cencius a follower (*fautor*) of Henry, and Gregory "a cedar of Paradise."

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all the Mass he had been prevented from finishing, and then returned to the Lateran in the prescribed manner.[1]

Procession back to the Lateran.

As though nothing unusual had happened, Gregory allowed the crown to be placed upon his head by the archdeacon, mounted his horse, and proceeded to the Lateran Palace by the accustomed route. This was by the eastern side of the Church of S. Prassede, under the arch near the Church of St. Vitus in the modern street of S. Vito, and in the old market of Livia, and by the reservoir and fountain (*Nymphæum*) known in the Middle Ages as *Cimbrum*, from its supposed connection with Marius. Thereabouts it turned south into the Via Merulana, which in part of its course was identical with the present street of that name, and ran direct to the Lateran Palace "in the neighbourhood of the fullery."[2]

At the head of this papal procession there proudly marched twelve soldiers (*milites draconarii*), who bore the twelve standards (*bandora*) of the city's regions. With the *draconarii* was led for the Pope a second horse fully caparisoned. Next, carried aloft, was the cross. After the cross came the bishops, and behind them the notaries singing. Then followed the cardinals, and then the archdeacon, the primicerius, and the deacons and subdeacons, two and two. Behind them, on horseback, rode the Pope. Following him came the prefect of the city, wearing a precious mantle and shod with buskins, one of which was ornamented in gold and the other in red.[3] The procession was closed by the *judges* in great cloaks or copes. Its arrangement, and the preservation of its order, seem to have been in the hands of two captains of the fleet

[1] "Ad palatium denique coronatus . . . reversus, quidquid consuetudinis fuit celebravit" (*L. P.*). *Cf. Ordo Romanus XI.*, cc. 21–23, 48.

[2] "Juxta fulloniam." *Ordo*, c. 48.

[3] "Calceatus zancha una aurea, altera rubea." *Ordo*, c. 21.

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(*præfecti navales*), called Drungarii, who also wore great cloaks (*pluviales*) and carried batons. They were assisted by mounted *majorentes*,[1] or the *schola stimulati*,[2] in silken mantles, and also carrying batons.

Arrival at the Lateran Palace.

The cavalcade halted at the first of the great group of buildings which then formed the Lateran, viz., at the library called, from Pope Zachary's additions to it, the *Basilica Zachariæ*. The cardinals dismounted before the Pope, received his blessing, and, in the ordinary form of the *laudes*, wished Gregory "long life," and called upon God and His saints to grant it to him, and to help him. In return for their good wishes they each received three solidi. After the *judges* also had wished the Pope "many years," and that both he and all might have "a happy life" (*tempora bona*), the Pope dismounted, and was led into the palace by the primicerius and secundicerius of the *defensors*.

Gregory then distributed the accustomed largess (*presbyterium*) "to all the orders," and, as also on Easter Sunday, a *manus*—that is, a double *presbyterium*—to the heads (*priores*) of the different orders or *scholæ*. Thus the primicerius of the judges, the first (*prior*) of the bishops, and the first of the cardinals each received four solidi and a *manus*. The prefect received the largest sum, twenty solidi and a *manus*, while the regionary prior only received two solidi with his *manus*.

When the presentation of the largess was over, the whole company adjourned to the great triclinium of Leo III. to dine together. On the right of the Pope sat the bishops and cardinals, and on his left the archdeacon, the deacon, the primicerius, the prior basilicarius, and the

[1] Or *majorenses*, the papal "household-cavalry," called also *majorentini milites*.

[2] *Stimulati*, *i.e.*, equipped with spurs; perhaps, adds Ducange *in voce* "majorenses," the "cavaliers of the golden spur, *cavalieri dello speron d'oro*," whom the Pope is wont to create now, *i.e.*, in 1762.

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prior regionarius. When the feast was nearly half over, at a sign from the archdeacon, a deacon read a lesson from a book of homilies which an ostiarius had placed in the midst on a stand. The cantors then sang, "in modulated tones" (*modulatis vocibus*), the Sequence "Lætabundus,"[1] and, after kissing the Pope's feet, received from the *sacellarius* (paymaster) for their services not only a byzant apiece, but a cup of wine which the Pope had touched with his lips. "When the banquet was over," concludes the Ordo of Benedict, "all returned, or, if cardinals, were escorted, to their homes."[2]

Meanwhile the people, after the Pope had completed his Mass, devoted themselves to wreaking vengeance on Cencius and his followers. As many of the latter as they encountered they put to death, "against the wishes of the Pope."[3] They plundered or destroyed their goods, levelled the towers of Cencius to the ground, and declared his property confiscated to the State.[4]

[1] At any rate that is the title given to the Sequence in *Ordo Rom. XV.*, c. 11, by Petrus Amelius (†1404).

[2] With the *Ordo* of Benedict *cf.* the later *Ordos* of Albinus (ap. *Liber Censuum*, ii. pp. 124 and 128) and of Cencius, c. 7 (ap. *P. L.*, t. 78, or *Liber Cens.*, ii. p. 292).

[3] "Contra D. Papæ voluntatem" (*L. P.*). Berthold says that only the man who wounded the Pope was killed.

[4] "Quidquid enim sui juris olim esse poterat populus postea adveniens distraxit, turribus ac domibus subversis, præsidiis vero fisci titulo sociatis." Paul, c. 57. With Paul's account of this deed of Cencius, compare those of Bonizo and *Cod. Vat. A* (both ap. Watterich, i. 319 f.), and of Lambert, Berthold, Bernald, Arnulf, and the *L. P.* Beno's story (*Gest. Rom. Ecc.*, i. 8) stands alone, and is believed by no one. There is no evidence that Henry was privy to the sacrilegious assault of Cencius; but the fact that the ruffian did not hesitate to go to his court not long after his attack on the Pope, shows that he did not imagine it would render him less acceptable to Henry. Berthold (an. 1076) declares him "Regi per omnia morigerius." He died of a throat affection within the year after his outraging Gregory. "Faucium ulcere suffocatus." Arnulf, v. 6.

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CHAPTER VI.

THE COUNCIL OF WORMS; GREGORY IS DECLARED DEPOSED. HENRY EXCOMMUNICATED. THE SAXON WAR. THE DIET OF TRIBUR. CANOSSA.

Papal envoys meet Henry, 1076.

GREGORY'S important letter of December 1075[1] to Henry had concluded thus: "With regard to the points in your letters on which we have not touched, we shall not give definite replies to them until your ambassadors, Rabbod, etc., and those whom we have attached to them, have returned to us, and more fully made known to us your intentions with regard to those matters on which we have commissioned them to treat with you."

In the beginning of January the envoys met the king at Goslar. But they were unable to extract from him any satisfactory assurances of an alteration in his policy towards the Holy See, or towards the Saxon bishops he had imprisoned.[2] Still less would he promise to reform his private life, or to abandon the society of those who had already been excommunicated.[3] The envoys, thereupon,

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 85 f.

[2] Bruno, c. 64. Despite Henry's orders to have the passes of the Alps closed to all but his own envoys, the Saxons were able to make their case known to the Pope. *Cf. infra*, p. 106.

[3] Carlyle, in his thorough and lucid work, *A History of Mediæval Political Theory in the West*, ii. 203 f. (London, 1909), notes that there is no need to multiply citations to prove that it was the general theory of mediæval canonists that "to pray, to speak, or to eat with an excommunicate person" involved excommunication; and that "the king or emperor was in his own person subject to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Church, like any other person, and therefore, in extreme cases, to excommunication. . . . Gregory's conclusion was historically justifiable. There was here nothing new or revolutionary."

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gave him to understand that he would be excommunicated, and hence deprived of his kingdom,[1] in the approaching Roman synod (February 22), unless he made atonement for his misdeeds. Lambert of Hersfeld, indeed, declares that the envoys cited Henry himself, under pain of excommunication, to appear before the synod to defend his conduct in person.[2] But in this respect, to judge from Gregory's letters and from the chroniclers Bruno, Berthold, and Bernald, he is certainly mistaken.[3] It is to be observed that Henry was threatened with excommunication not on any political count, but by reason of his personal crimes. The king, like the poorest of his subjects, was a member of the Church; and hence, if he sinned, was amenable to its jurisdiction just as every other one of its members. It was because he was a sinful man, because he was grossly and notoriously immoral, and consorted with the excommunicated, and not because he was a political offender, that Gregory claimed authority over him. This he makes very clear in his subsequent apology for his action addressed to the German people.[4]

The council of Worms, 1076.

At any rate, Henry was infuriated at meeting with opposition from Rome, when he had humbled his enemies at home, and had just induced the nobility to promise to elect his son Conrad as his successor.[5] In hot haste he

[1] Henry, in his furious letter to Gregory of *c.* January 24, 1076, writes: "Quam (his kingly power) te nobis auferre ausus es minari." Ap. *Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 101. *Cf.* his letter to Bishop A.: "Minitans regnum et animam se mihi tollere." As we shall see later, excommunication under certain conditions involved the loss of a throne. Hence, Henry could say that, if Gregory threatened to excommunicate him, he thereby threatened his crown. Meanwhile see Epp. coll. 14, p. 538.

[2] An. 1076, p. 252.

[3] III. 10, and Epp. coll. 14; Bruno, c. 65; Berthold, 1075; Bernald, 1076; *cf.* his *De damm. scism.*, c. 13.

[4] Epp. coll. 14, p. 538, an. 1076.

[5] Bernald, *ib.*

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summoned a diet, "especially of those bishops and princes on whom he could rely,"[1] to meet forthwith at Worms. On January 24 there gathered round him in that ancient city the two metropolitans of Mainz (Siegfried) and Trier, twenty-four bishops, of whom one was from Italy, a great number of abbots, and not a few of the princes of the empire. The most important ecclesiastic present was the degraded or excommunicated Cardinal Hugo Candidus.[2]

Denouncing Gregory in a series of "tragic lies,"[3] he declared that he had been improperly elected, had stirred up discord all over Europe, and had degraded the episcopal office. He even had the effrontery to denounce his relations with the Countess Matilda. Many of the bishops present, conscious of their own shortcomings in the eyes of the Pope, made no difficulty in accepting these assertions, and all were compelled to sign a declaration to the effect that they would not in future render him any obedience, and that, as he had often said that they were not bishops, they would not regard him as their apostolicus.[4] One or two, indeed, resisted for a time. They pointed out that it was contrary to the canons to condemn any bishop in his absence, not to say the bishop of Rome, against whom no accusation, whether of bishop or archbishop, was valid.[5] Under pressure,[6] however, they gave way, and signed the document. But a deeper humiliation was in store for

[1] "Eos maxime quos suæ voluntati consentaneos noverat." Berthold, 1076.

[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 82.

[3] "Deferens secum de vita et institutione papæ scenicis figmentis consimilem tragediam." Lambert, 1076, p. 253. *Cf.* Donizo, c. 19, v. 1273, and the poem of Rangerius, p. 62, for Henry's own fierce denunciation of Gregory.

[4] See their declaration ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 103 ff.

[5] Lambert, *ib.*

[6] "Cœgit (Henry) eos." Bruno, c. 65. *Cf.* Berthold, 1076, ap. *P. L.*, t. 147, p. 368.

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them, and for as many as had signed the general decree through fear. In most instances against his will each bishop was compelled to sign a private deed setting forth that he henceforth forbade any obedience to be paid to Hildebrand, and that he would nevermore acknowledge him as apostolicus.[1] "Behold!" exclaimed Gebehard of Salzburg, "the source of all the troubles we are enduring . . . the source of all our sorrows. . . . Bishops decree that a servant of a king has a right to bid the supreme Pontiff come down from his episcopal seat."[2]

The decree of Gregory's deposition sent to Rome.

Henry had now fairly crossed the Rubicon. His intemperate action had kindled a fire which was destined to consume many. His first act was to send the decree of the diet of Worms to the bishops of north Italy, who heartily endorsed it at Piacenza and Pavia,[3] but dared not

[1] Bruno, c. 65. How far many of the bishops acted under compulsion may be gathered from the contemporary account of Ettilo or Hezilo, bishop of Hildesheim (†1079), in the Chronicle of Hildesheim, c. 17. We are there told that "through fear of death he subscribed, but, being a man of acute wit, he condemned what he had written by adding an *obelus* beneath it." This sign was used in books especially to call attention to what was doubtful or for some reason to be condemned. "Quia pene omnibus Ytalicis et Teutonicis episcopis inauditam et in omni canonum serie non lectam D. Gregorii P. VII. dampnationem subscribentibus, ipse quoque timore mortis subscripsit," etc. Ap. *P. L.*, t. 141.

[2] "Novam hanc mundo legem condiderunt, ut servus principis summo pontifici cathedram episcopalem interdicendi jus habeat." Ep. Gebehardi, cc. 33–35, pp. 278–279. *Cf.* Bernald, *De dammat. scismat.*, pp. 49–51.

[3] Berthold, *l.c.*, and *vit. S. Anselmi*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 148, p. 913. For these proceedings against the Pope, the Lombard bishops are taken to task even by Arnulf of Milan. He reminds them that the Roman Church has never erred from the faith since our Lord prayed for St. Peter's faith (St. Luke xxii. 31), and that he who dissents from the Roman Church is no true Catholic. If the bishops know this, how have they dared to put forth an invalid anathema against the Pope? Should they reply as usual that they have been obeying the king's orders, they must remember they must obey God rather than man (Acts v. 29, St. Matthew xxii. 21, and 1 Peter ii. 17). "Non ergo

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take it to Rome. At length, however, a certain Roland, a canon of Parma, was found bold enough to carry Henry's missives to the Pope.

Synod at Rome, Feb. 1079.

Making the greatest haste, Roland arrived in Rome the day before the opening of the synod which Gregory had long previously fixed for February 14. He at once put in circulation a letter which Henry had addressed to all the clergy and people of the Roman Church, calling on them to be loyal to him, and to depose the monk Hildebrand, the oppressor of the Church, the enemy of the Roman Republic and of the German kingdom, the intruder who had attempted to humiliate the bishops of the empire, and had declared that at the cost of his life he would deprive the king of his existence and of his kingdom. It was, so the document reminded the Romans, in virtue of his power as patricius of Rome that he summoned Hildebrand to descend from the chair of Peter.[1]

When the Pope had opened the synod at the Lateran in the presence of a hundred and ten bishops, and a large number of clerics and laics, among whom was the empress-mother Agnes, Roland stepped audaciously forward. "My lord the king," he began, "and all the bishops beyond the Alps, as well as those of Lombardy (Italici), bid you quit forthwith the See of Peter, into which you have intruded yourself. No one has a right to this great honour except him who has received a mandate from the bishops and the approval of the king." Then, addressing the clergy, he continued: "You, my brethren, are summoned to appear before the king on the feast of Pentecost, to receive from his hands a Pope and Father; for this man is no Pope,

debetur honor regi, nisi præcedente justo timore Dei." *Gest. Arch. Med.*, v. 7. *Cf.* on these and the other details of the mission of Henry's agents to Gregory, Donizo, Bernried, Bernald, and Bonizo.

[1] "Vos in ejus inimicitiam excitamus." Ep. ap. Bruno, c. 66.

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but a ravenous wolf." "Seize him," thundered out John, the cardinal-bishop of Porto. Instantly the great basilica rang with cries of "Death to the insolent knave!" swords flashed from their sheaths, and but for Gregory's throwing himself in front of him, the king's messenger would have been cut to pieces by the prefect, the nobles, and the soldiers.[1]

When order had been restored, the Pope commanded that the letter from the king which Roland had brought should be read aloud forthwith. It was with profound astonishment that the assembly listened to the following extraordinary epistle. "Henry, king, not by usurpation, but by the holy will of God, to Hildebrand, now no longer the *apostolicus*, but a false monk." After asserting that Gregory had trampled upon the episcopal order, and, mistaking the king's anxiety for the honour of the Apostolic See for fear, had dared to threaten to deprive him of his kingdom, he declared to him that he had lawfully received his power from Jesus Christ, whereas Gregory had gained the Apostolic See by fraud, by force, and by gold. "You have assailed me, though according to the tradition of the Fathers, I am to be judged by God alone, and not to be deposed except, which God forbid, I should fall away from the faith.[2] . . . Condemned by all our bishops and by us, come down, and leave the apostolic chair you have usurped. Let another mount the throne of Blessed Peter, who, under cover of religion, will not teach war. . . .

[1] Bernried, c. 69. *Cf.* Donizo. "Quod fecisset (viz., the prefect would have slain him) enim, sed ei Papa almus adhæsit," Bonizo, etc. Rangerius sings thus of the attack on Roland (p. 69):—

"Impetitur, capitur, scinditur, opprimitur,
Et nisi Papa manum velocius opposuisset,
Ad dominum vivus non rediturus erat."

[2] This is an important admission of Henry: "Quem sanctorum patrum tradicio soli Deo judicandum docuit, nec pro aliquo crimine, nisi a fide quod absit exorbitaverim, deponendum asseruit."

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I, Henry, by the grace of God, king, with all our bishops, say unto thee, damned for ever, come down, come down!"[1]

When the Fathers of the council met on the following day, they called on the Pope to pass sentence on the rebellious bishops, and on Henry, the author of their revolt.[2] Accordingly, invoking St. Peter, who had nourished him from his infancy, to bear witness that he had against his will been set over the Roman Church, Gregory declared it to be his belief that it was the will of the saint "that the Christian people, specially committed to thee, should obey me in thy stead. Through thy favour I have received from God the power of binding and of loosing in heaven and in earth. Relying on this, for the honour and defence of thy Church, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and by thy power and authority, I forbid to King Henry, who through unexampled pride has rebelled against thy Holy Church, the government of the whole realm of Germany and of Italy;[3] I absolve all Christians from the oaths which they have taken or may take to him; and I decree that no one shall obey him as king, for it is fitting that he, who has endeavoured to diminish the honour of thy Church, should himself lose that honour which he seems to have. And because he has scorned the obedience of a Christian, refusing to return to the Lord, whom he had driven from him by his communion with the excommunicate; by spurning, as thou knowest, the admonitions given by me for his own safety's sake; and by severing himself from

[1] Ep. ap. Bruno, c. 67; *Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 103, etc.

[2] "Judicium confer, gladium trahe, percute fortem." Donizo, *l.c.* *Cf.* Bernried, etc.

[3] "Heinrico regi . . . qui contra tuam ecclesiam inaudita superbia insurrexit, totius regni Teutonicorum et Italiæ gubernacula contradico." *Reg.*, iii. 10 *a*.

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thy Church in the attempt to divide it, I, in thy stead, bind him with the bond of anathema; thus acting in confidence on thee, that the nations may know and acknowledge that thou art Peter, that upon thy rock the Son of the living God hath built his Church, and that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it"[1] (St. Matt. xvi. 18).

The bishops of Germany and Lombardy who had co-operated with the king were suspended from the performance of their episcopal functions, and cut off from the communion of Christ's body and blood. Those, however, who had yielded an unwilling consent to Henry's acts were given till the feast of St. Peter to make satisfaction to the Pope, and so avoid the general sentence.[2] And, even before the council had finished its sittings, letters were received from some of the German bishops, in which they acknowledged their fault, begged pardon for their offence, and promised henceforth the obedience of children to their father.[3]

The Christian world is informed of the excommunication of Henry.

The council was no sooner over than, addressing a letter to all those who wished to be of the number of those sheep whom Christ had entrusted to St. Peter, Gregory called their attention to the outrage which the action of Henry had put upon the authority which had been given to the first of the apostles; begged them to pray that the impious might be converted or confounded; and set forth the reasons why Henry had been excommunicated.[4] He also took an early opportunity of protesting that, in what he had done, he had

[1] *Ib.* Bowden's translation is here used. *Cf.* Rangerius, p. 69.

[2] The Empress Agnes, "whose soul was deeply wounded by the sword of her son's condemnation," also gives an account of this synod in a letter to Bishop Altman of Passau, ap. Hugh of Flavigny, *Chron.*, l. ii. p. 308.

[3] Bonizo, and *Cod. Vat. A*, ap. Watterich, i. 322-323; Bernried c. 79.

[4] Ep. iii. 6.

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acted from zeal for justice, and not from any personal ill-feeling.[1]

When this momentous piece of intelligence was made known to the world, there were some who did not hesitate to tell the Pope that kings could not be excommunicated. To these, however, he simply replied, "When with the words 'Feed my sheep,' God thrice entrusted his Church to Blessed Peter, did He except kings? When chiefly (*principaliter*) to him He gave the power of binding and loosing in heaven and in earth, He made no exceptions; He did not withdraw anyone from under his authority. He who asserts that he cannot be bound by the Church's bonds, confesses that he cannot be loosed by her authority. And he who makes such an assertion, separates himself wholly from Christ."[2]

Henry hears of his excommunication.

As soon as the news of Henry's excommunication got abroad, "the whole Roman world trembled."[3] The king heard of it at Utrecht. His fury may be easily imagined, and he at once ordered a bishop to tell the people that the censure was impotent. But, to his chagrin, the bishop[4] immediately fled from his court, and though William of Utrecht readily fulfilled his wishes, he quickly realised that the ground was crumbling beneath his feet. To the horror of everyone, William died soon after in despair of his salvation for his contempt of the Pope[5] (April 27, 1076). Word, too, was brought to Henry that some of the bishops who had supported him at Worms were seeking to be

[1] Epp. coll. 13. [2] *L. P.*

[3] Bonizo, l. viii. *Cf. Cod. Vat. A.* "Ubi de regis banno ad aures vulgi personuit, totus orbis Romanus, nimio timore perterritus, non mediocriter vacillavit." Ap. Watterich, i. 327.

[4] Pibo of Toul. Yet he was one of those who, but a few weeks before, had declared Gregory deposed.

[5] Flavigny, l. ii. p. 327. *Cf.* Lambert, 1076; Bruno, c. 74; Bernried, c. 80; Berthold, etc., and Greg. Ep. iv. 6.

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reconciled with the Pope. And if by the assassination of Godfrey the Hunchback, of Lorraine (February 26, 1076), he gained a duchy, he lost his ablest general and most talented supporter. Furthermore, it was already hinted to him that the princes of the empire had begun to abandon him.

Summons the princes to meet him on May 15, 1076.

Nevertheless, he did not hesitate to summon them to meet him at Worms on the feast of Pentecost: "Our interests, and the interests of the bishops, ay, even of the whole oppressed Church, require it," he wrote;[1] "for Hildebrand has, against the will of God, made himself lord of the empire and of the episcopate,[2] and has thereby ignored His will that those two powers should not be held in one hand, as He typically foreshadowed when He said that the two swords were enough"[3] (St. Luke xxii. 38).

The assemblies of Worms and Mainz.

But, through insufficient attendance, the assembly of Worms was a failure,[4] so that a new diet was appointed to be held at Mainz on June 29. The greatest lay princes of the empire, however, were conspicuous by their absence from this assembly also. Nevertheless, the king's bishops again declared Gregory excommunicated, and his sentence against the king of no avail.[5] But Henry was to learn that for him or his to declare the Pope deposed was one thing, but that it was another and a very different thing for the

[1] Ep. Heinrici, ap. *Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 46 f.

[2] "Regnum et sacerdotium Deo nesciente sibi usurpavit." *Ib.*

[3] It might have been thought that Henry would be the last man to appeal to the old papal contention of the distinctness of the spiritual and temporal power, after he had so flagrantly violated ecclesiastical liberty.

[4] Berthold, 1076, ap. *P. L.*, t. 147, pp. 370–371; Lambert, 1076, p. 263.

[5] Berthold and Lambert, *ll.cc.* The edition of Lambert from which we quote is that of Holder-Egger. It is a pity that he has abandoned the general rule of the editors of the *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, and allowed personal bias to appear in his notes. *Cf.* his note to Udo or Uto of Trier: "Quem Hildebrandus *callide* sibi allexerat."

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Pope to pronounce him excommunicated and deprived of his kingdom. The question of the justice of these sentences was soon being debated throughout the whole empire.[1] And though there were some who would not admit that the Pope had a right to decide that the king had forfeited his crown, those who correctly comprehended the relations which then held between the Church and the State concluded that the Pope was within his rights. They remembered that when Henry was elected, it had been "on the understanding that he shall prove a just king,"[2] and that it was a law of the empire that "if a man were not absolved from a sentence of excommunication within a year and a day, he was to be deprived of every dignity."[3]

Henry loses partisans.

The further the news of the king's excommunication spread, the more rapidly did he lose supporters. Udo, the metropolitan of Trier,[4] returned from Rome, where he had made his peace with Gregory, and induced other bishops to follow his example.[5] Many more, both clergy and laity, abandoned Henry on becoming acquainted with the contents of one or other of the circular letters which Gregory kept dispatching "to all the bishops, abbots, and priests, to all the dukes, princes, and knights, and to all Christians who dwell in the Roman Empire and really love the Christian faith and the honour of Blessed Peter." Some

[1] "Diversus siquidem sermo inter Synodiacos de hoc eodem anathemate regis per totum regnum sine intermissione terebatur, justene actum sit an injuste?" Berthold, *ib.*, p. 372.

[2] Hermannus Aug., an. 1053, ap. *P. L.*, t. 153, p. 261.

[3] Bonizo, l. viii., *init.*; *Cod. Vat. A*, ap. Watterich, i. 327. *Cf.* the declaration of the princes at Tribur, ap. Lambert, 1076, p. 281; Bernried, c. 85; and the famous thirteenth-century national codes of Saxony (*Sachsenspiegel*, ed. Homeyer, 1861) and of Suabia (*Schwabenspiegel*, ed. Lassberg, 1840). The *leges palatinæ* mentioned by Lambert may denote laws sanctioned rather by custom than by code.

[4] He was one of those who had been to Rome to atone for their conduct at the first diet of Worms.

[5] Lambert, 1076, p. 263.

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of the letters were addressed to the bishops, exhorting them to repent as they held the same faith as the Pope, and knew their duty.[1] Others urged those to whom they were sent to do their best to induce Henry to return to the right path, and to avoid the society of such as held intercourse with the excommunicated monarch.[2] Others again, of an apologetic character, established Gregory's right to excommunicate the king. In them he quoted the examples of Pope Zachary's deposition of Childeric III.;[3] of St. Gregory I. imposing excommunication, with loss of dignity, on kings or anyone else who should violate the *privilege* he granted to a hospital at Autun;[4] and of St. Ambrose excommunicating the great emperor Theodosius.[5] He explained that from the time when he was a deacon he had endeavoured to turn Henry away from his evil courses, that he had made greater efforts after he became Pope, that Henry had only grown more wicked with advancing age, and that his exhortations had been merely met with promises of amendment. When at length he had been compelled to excommunicate those who were basely trafficking in churches, Henry openly received them into his society; and, when he had been still further rebuked for his dreadful crimes,[6] he had caused almost all the bishops of Italy (Lombardy), and such German bishops as he could, to be false to the obedience they owed the Apostolic See. For these reasons he had excommunicated him:[7] and he now forbade him to be absolved without his knowledge.[8] Finally, he made it known that, "with due

[1] III. 12. [2] IV. 1 and 3.
[3] *Cf.* vol. i. pt. ii. p. 267 ff. of this work.
[4] *Cf. ib.*, pt. i. p. 98. [5] IV. 2.
[6] For which the laws of God and man required that he should be for ever deprived of his kingdom. Epp. coll. 14, an important apologetic letter.
[7] *Ib. Cf. ib.*, 13. [8] IV. 2 and 3; epp. coll. 15 of August 1076.

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regard for justice," he would support those who were talking of electing a new king.[1]

The Saxon war.

Perhaps the most serious blow which these letters inflicted on Henry's cause was the encouragement they gave to the Saxons. To appreciate the force of this remark, a few words must be said regarding Henry's dealings with these, the most warlike people of his dominions.

Whether the recollection that their country had given the first rulers to the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation made them naturally hostile to the Franconian line, it is certain that they were much attached to their local chiefs, liberties, and customs, and were ever ready to resent interference with any of them. But Henry, so far from attempting to respect their prejudices, acted as though he cared neither for their feelings nor their liberties. In the early part of his reign, he spent most of his time in Saxony, slighting its chiefs and outraging its maidens.[2] This led the Saxons to appeal to the Pope,[3] and to rebellion.[4] Acting on the advice of Adalbert of Bremen, who had his own reasons for not loving the Saxons, Henry began to erect fortresses all over Saxony and Thuringia, with a view to overawing the people (1069). His favourite one was at Hartzburg.[5] He next irritated the Saxon chiefs by unjustly depriving Otho of Nordheim, a Saxon by birth, of the Duchy of Bavaria (1070), and by keeping young Magnus,

[1] "Ad tantum enim numerum fideles Romanæ ecclesiæ pervenerunt, ut, nisi ad satisfactionem veniat rex, alium regem palam dicant eligere. Quibus nos favere servata justitia promisimus." IV. 7 of October 31, 1076. *Cf.* iv. 3 of September.

[2] Ekkehard, *Chron.*, 1068.

[3] *Vide supra*, p. 94 n.

[4] On the rebellion of Dedi, Margrave of the Lausitz, in 1069, *cf.* Ekkehard, 1070; *Ann. Weissenburgenses*, 1069; and Lambert, 1069.

[5] Bruno, c. 16; Ekkehard, *l.c.*; Lambert, 1073, p. 140, etc.; *Ann. Altahenses maj.*, 1073. "Totam Saxoniam Castellis novis et firmis cœpit munire," says Norbert (†1117) in his *Life* of Benno, bishop of Osnabruck, c. 11, ap. Eccard, *Corpus*, ii. 2168.

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the heir of their Duke Ordulf (†1073), a prisoner during two years for supporting Otho when he vainly endeavoured to resist the confiscation of his duchy.

At length, infuriated by the licentious behaviour of the garrisons which the king had placed in his castles, by his threat to cut off the heads of any who appealed to Rome,[1] by his contemptuous disregard of the protestations and demands of their chiefs,[2] and by the discovery which they had made that he was trying to rouse the Danes and others against them,[3] the Saxons rose "as one man,"[4] and marched straight on Hartzburg. Henry fled for his life to the monastery of Hersfeld, where Lambert was engaged in writing the annals we are constantly quoting. No sooner had he left their country, than the Saxons at once began to destroy his castles; and a conference between the Saxon chiefs and representatives of the king, held at Gerstungen in October, simply ended in a further loss of popularity by Henry, even among those of the princes who were supposed to be attached to him. It is also said that it was already proposed, if not decided, to depose Henry, and place the crown upon the head of Rudolf of Suabia.[5] Odium was still further excited against Henry by the assertion of one of his followers that he had wished him to assassinate the Dukes Rudolf of Suabia and Berthold of Carinthia. His case would have been hopeless had he not found a powerful support in the loyalty of the citizens of Worms, to which city he had betaken himself in December.

Gregory attempts to make peace, Dec. 1073.

At this juncture Gregory dispatched a letter to the Saxon leaders in the interests of peace. Henry had asked the Pope's help in his difficulties,[6] and there can be no

[1] Lambert, 1073, p. 143.
[2] Bruno, c. 23.
[3] *Ib.*, c. 20. Adam of Bremen, iii. 59.
[4] *Ann. Weiss.*, 1073.
[5] Lambert, 1073, p. 165; Berthold, 1073.
[6] *Reg.*, i. 29 *a*.

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doubt that, despite his threats, the Saxons had made the latter acquainted with their position.

Expressing his regret at the quarrel which had broken out between them and the king, at the consequent loss of life, conflagrations, pillage of churches and of the poor, and at the ruin of their country, Gregory conjured them to abstain from hostilities until he should be able to send legates to re-establish peace. He assured them that he had written to the same effect to Henry. "And since, as you know, for us to lie would be a sacrilege, and to abandon justice would be to make shipwreck of our souls, we would not have one of you doubt that, with the help of God, we will endeavour to decide and solidly to carry into effect whatever, after careful discussion of the question, shall appear to be just. Whichever party we shall find to be the injured one, and to be suffering from outraged justice, on that, without fear or respect of persons, will we bestow our favour and the protection of our apostolic authority."[1] But, unfortunately for themselves, the Saxons were too much elated by their success to listen to the Pope. Events were to take their course unrestrained by the guiding hand of Gregory.

Destruction of Hartzburg.

Failing in an attempt to surprise the Saxons by a winter campaign, Henry was compelled to make peace with them, and to agree to their conditions (February 1074). One of these was that his Saxon castles should be surrendered and destroyed. Flushed with their success, and fired with the spirit of revenge, the Saxon people went beyond the legal fulfilment of the treaty. Having obtained possession of Hartzburg, they were not content till they had dug up the remains of Henry's son and brother, and burnt them along with the monastery and church he had erected in the interior of his fortress.[2]

[1] I. 39, December 20, 1073. [2] Lambert, 1074, p. 184; Bruno, c. 33.

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Unable at the moment to avenge these outrages by force of arms, he sent legates to Rome to make a strong appeal against their authors,[1] and he resolved at the same time to take a bitter revenge on them as soon as circumstances would permit. Sparing no pains to secure allies, and scorning all attempts made by the Saxon chiefs to atone for the wanton destruction of Hartzburg, he was at length able to enter Saxony with one of the largest and best appointed armies that had ever obeyed a German king (June 1075).[2] With him, besides the Dukes Rudolf, Welf of Bavaria, and Godfrey of Lorraine, marched Wratislaus with his Bohemians, and the Rhineland burghers. The Saxons were taken by surprise, and suffered a terrible defeat on the banks of the Unstrut (June 9). But the losses they endured on the field of battle were small compared with the miseries inflicted on them and their unhappy country after the battle was over. Henry's troops acted as if every licence was permitted them, and continued so to act until want of provisions forced the king to disband them with an order to reassemble in the autumn.[3] In the interval the Saxons made the most piteous appeals to Henry for mercy. But if they made not the slightest impression on their cruel king, they did on many of his great feudatories, and when the autumn came, his army mustered without the contingents of Rudolf, Welf, and Berthold of Carinthia. They repented them, they said, of the terrible bloodshed at the Unstrut, and they were disgusted at the hard-heartedness of the king.[4]

Henry turns to Rome and to arms.

When in October the Saxons and the forces of the king once more stood face to face, the chiefs of both sides

The Saxon chiefs surrender themselves, 1075.

[1] "Legatos Romam misit, sedem apostolicam contra eos interpellare." Lambert, 185. *Cf.* Bernried, c. 64.

[2] Lambert and Berthold, ad an. 1075.

[3] *Ib.*, Bruno, c. 46 ff. [4] Lambert, 1075, p. 234; Bruno, c. 54.

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showed themselves averse to further fighting. After much negotiation, the Saxon leaders, both clerical and lay, relying on the pledges of the king's principal nobles, gave themselves into his hands on the understanding that their surrender was simply to satisfy his honour, and that they were to be speedily released without suffering any other disabilities.[1] No sooner, however, were they in his power than, entrusting them to the safe keeping of his adherents in different parts of the empire, he made it plain that their confinement was not to be of short duration, seized their goods, and again lorded it tyrannically over Saxony.[2]

Henry's changed attitude towards the Pope.

Whilst the Saxons were still unsubdued, Henry professed to listen with respect to the admonitions of the Pope, and, as we have seen, promised amendment; but now "he wholly set them at naught, and made it a point ostentatiously to hold intercourse with those of his counsellors and intimates who had been excommunicated in the synod at Rome, and ceased not to harass the churches of God, as had been his previous custom."[3] His reply to a strong remonstrance on the part of Gregory had been to declare him deposed.[4]

But after his unwarrantable conduct had brought excommunication upon him, he soon began, despite his victories, to find himself in great straits.

The difficulties into which he soon falls, 1076.

The oppressed Saxons were delighted when they heard of his excommunication, and their joy was intensified when they found first one and then another of their leaders returning to them. Some of them had escaped from the hands of their captors, but many more had been released

[1] Lambert, p. 237; Bruno, *ib.*, f.; Berthold, 1075.

[2] Bruno, c. 56; Lambert, p. 239; Berthold, 1076; *Ann. Weissenburg.*, 1075. "Saxones pacem petentes suscepit, sed servicia magis quam gratia insecutus est universos."

[3] Berthold, 1075.

[4] *Supra*, p. 96 f.

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when Henry's excommunication was proclaimed[1] (April–May). Under their old chiefs, the people once again flew to arms, and Henry's castles were soon in their hands. An attempt which he made to subdue the rebels ended in complete failure,[2] and in the autumn, at Worms, he heard that the Saxons had appealed to the Pope to come to the aid "of a nation well-nigh ruined,"[3] and that the great ones of the empire, clerical and lay, had called upon the whole nobility to assemble at Tribur on October 16, "in order that, by common consent, they might decide what was to be done in this important crisis."[4]

The diet at Tribur.

While Henry in impotent anxiety moved forward to Oppenheim on the left bank of the Rhine, there assembled to the east of that river, at Tribur, near Darmstadt—a place already famous for the deposition of Charles the Fat—the great bishops and lords of the empire, accompanied by powerful retinues of Saxons and Suabians. There were also present two legates of the Pope, viz. Sieghard, patriarch of Aquileia, and Altman, bishop of Passau. At first the assembly showed itself very bitter against Henry. His repeated promises of amendment of life were unheeded, and many wished to proclaim a new king[5] and to attack Henry forthwith. Apparently, however, through the efforts of the Pope's legates,[6] more moderate counsels prevailed. The monarch was duly informed that it had

[1] Bruno, c. 82; Lambert, 1076, pp. 258, 260.

[2] Lambert, *ib.*, 272 f.

[3] Bruno, c. 87. "Domno apostolico litteras miserunt (Saxones), quibus, ut vel per se vel per nuntium genti pene perditæ consolator adesset, suppliciter oraverunt."

[4] Berthold, 1076; Lambert, p. 273; Bernald, Apol. ix. pro Gebhard., n. 5, ap. *Mon. Germ. Libell.*, ii. 110.

[5] "Inde causa quasi justa, primates regni excommunicato contradicunt regi, temptantes eum projecire regno." Marianus Scotus, an. 1077.

[6] *Cf.* Delarc, iii. 249.

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been decided to leave the decision regarding his case to the Roman Pontiff, who was to be asked to meet the great ones of the empire at a diet at Augsburg on the Feast of the Purification (February 2, 1077). If, on the anniversary day of his excommunication, he was still under the Church's ban, he was to lose his dignity for ever, for the law forbade further administration to anyone who had been under sentence of excommunication for a year. Should he accept these conditions, he was to dismiss his army and his excommunicated counsellors, and retire to Spires and await, living as a private person, the coming of the Pope. They, however, on the other hand, engaged, if he proved true to his promises, to accompany him to Italy that he might receive the imperial crown, and drive the Normans from Apulia and Calabria.[1] With these hard conditions Henry was compelled to comply. Nor did his humiliation end even with them. He was required, moreover, by circular letter addressed to all the clerical and lay dignitaries of the empire, to repudiate his schismatical action at Worms, and to profess his readiness "unreservedly to obey the Holy See and the Lord Pope Gregory who presides over it, and to make due satisfaction for any serious wrong done

[1] Lambert, 1076, p. 276 ff. It seems to be now generally admitted that Lambert has here combined the intentions of the princes with the terms actually accepted by Henry. These are supposed to have been less extensive than those enumerated by Lambert, and probably did not involve more than a letter of apology to Gregory for his conduct at Worms, a withdrawal from the society of the excommunicated, and an undertaking to be present at the diet of Augsburg. According to Bruno (c. 88), Henry had to go to Rome for absolution. *Cf.* Bernald and Berthold. The latter adds that Henry was also to write a submissive letter to the Pope: "Nec non litteras P. Gregorio, debitam obœdientiam, satisfactionem et dignam pœnitentiam se servaturum firmiter intimantes, absque mora dirigeret." It is Bonizo (l. viii. *init.*) who tells us of the promise of the princes to fight against the Normans; and *Cod. Vat. A* declares their intention was "to restore the land recovered from them to the Pope."

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to him." In conclusion, he had to call on all those who had been excommunicated along with him to seek absolution.[1]

It was also demanded of him that, by the hand of Udo of Trier, he should send to the Pope himself a corresponding declaration of submission. It seems, however, that "the promise of King Henry to Pope Gregory" which has come down to us[2] is not the document which was authorised for transmission to Rome by the princes at Tribur, but a forged one which Henry contrived to forward in its place,[3] and which, besides offering submission to the Pope, bade him take note of the scandal which he himself was giving to the Church.

Voigt on the work of the diet of Tribur.

The significance of the decisions of this remarkable diet has been admirably set forth by Voigt. "What had been there accomplished," he says,[4] "was the natural result of the policy of King Henry III.[5] He had humbled the power of the great ones of the empire too deeply, and had made them feel the superiority of his house so keenly, that it was only to be expected that they would lift up their heads, and do all in their power to recover their ancient liberties when once his iron hand was removed. The foundation of German liberty rested on the authority of the Pope and the princes, who by their union put a curb on the imperial power. The power of the princes was as necessary as that of the Pope to prevent the emperors of Germany from becoming absolute monarchs and tyrants. It was well for humanity that the voice of the Papacy and

[1] See his letter ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Bamb.*, p. 111. As Donizo (ii. c. 1) takes notice, the princes were perturbed :—

"Per totum regnum, dicentes, esse superbum,
Non parere pie, sinceriter atque benigne
Romanæ sedi, quæ claves continet ævi."

[2] *Ib.*, p. 110. [3] Berthold, 1076. [4] *Grégoire VII.*, p. 415.
[5] The Emperor Henry III.

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religion found its support in that of the princes who supported freedom, and joined the authority of the sword to that of the sovereign Pontiff."[1]

Gregory comes to the north of Italy.

Naturally refusing Henry's request to allow him to come to exculpate himself at Rome,[2] Gregory intimated to his advisers his intention to accept the invitation of the princes at Tribur, and to move north without delay. It was to no purpose that they tried to dissuade him by reminding him of the advance towards his dominions of the warlike Normans, of the unusual severity of the weather, and of the avowed hostility to him of the Lombards. Writing to all the Germans, and asking them to arrange for his reception, he assured them he was prepared to brave all dangers, and would be at Mantua on January 8, 1077.[3]

Henry crosses the Alps.

Under the escort of that "most beloved and most faithful daughter of St. Peter," Matilda, who had been one of the few who had encouraged Gregory to undertake the journey, the Pope reached Mantua in safety by the date he had appointed. But to his astonishment there were no troops there from the princes to conduct him thence to Augsburg. He had not, however, long to wait conjecturing the reason of this. An alarming piece of news soon reached him. It was said that Henry had crossed the Alps with a great army,[4] and, as far as the king was concerned, the report

[1] Contrast this scientific appreciation of the position of the Pope towards Germany with that of Henderson, *A History of Germany in the Middle Ages*, p. 202: "Things had indeed gone far enough when the princes of Germany invited a foreign power, the deadly enemy, too, of their own national independence, to come into their midst and sit in judgment on their king!"

[2] Berthold, 1076.

[3] Epp. coll. 17. "Statuimus, . . . postponentes pæne omnium fidelium nostrorum consilium, ita profectionem nostram maturare, ut 6 Idus Januarii velimus Mantuæ esse." *Cf. ib.* 18, both *c.* December 1076, and 20.

[4] "Ecce nuntiatur apostolico, Heinricum cum magno exercitu Italiam intrasse." Bruno, c. 89. *Cf.* ep. Greg., iv. 12.

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was true. Already before this the princes had received authentic information of Henry's flight; and the confusion into which this intelligence had thrown their counsels prevented them from dispatching the escort for the Pope.

Whilst Henry was living in enforced privacy at Spires, two conclusions forced themselves upon him: he must prevent the Pope from appearing in Germany, and he must succeed in having the excommunication removed from himself before the expiration of the year of grace. Many wild schemes passed through his brain for accomplishing these ends by the use of gold or force.[1] But reflection on his utter abandonment quickly reminded him that of the latter he had none; and an abortive attempt which he made to raise money taught him that, as matters stood, he was as little likely to be able to procure the former.[2] Realising, accordingly, that his only hope lay in full submission to the Pope, he hurriedly[3] left Spires with his wife and child and a small company, and made for those passes of the Alps which were in the hands of his mother-in-law, Adelaide, countess of Turin. Paying heavily for her support,[4] he crossed the Rhone at Geneva, and began the ascent of Mt. Cenis.[5] Owing to an exceptionally severe winter,[6] the difficulties and dangers he had to encounter in the ascent were very great, but they were surpassed by those he met with in the descent. Often had the men of his party to crawl down some steep declivity on their hands

[1] Berthold, 1076.

[2] Lambert, 1076, p. 283.

[3] "Inito tam occulto quam astuto consilio, subitum et inopinatum iter in occursum apostolici arripuit." *Vit. Hen.*, c. 3. Henry's anonymous biographer passes over all these events of his life in a few words.

[4] *Ib.*, pp. 285, 286. *Cf.* Labruzzi, *La monarchia di Savoia*, Rome, 1900, p. 267; and Jacob, *Le Royaume de Bourgogne*, Paris, 1906, p. 146 ff.

[5] Jacob, *l.c.*, p. 141 ff.

[6] Lambert, 1076, p. 284, notes that even the rapid Rhine was frozen over from Martinmas almost to the very end of March.

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and knees, or to be carried on the backs of their guides, while the peasants lowered the queen with her child and her female attendants wrapped up in the skins of oxen.

Henry in Lombardy.

At length, after many hardships, and with the loss of most of his horses, Henry trod the Lombard plain in safety.[1] No sooner was it noised abroad that the German king had crossed the Alps than all the numerous foes of the Papacy and reform were rejoiced. Believing that he had come to humiliate their foe, evil-living bishops and nobles flocked to him with their retainers. His *cortège* was, moreover, swelled by many who were in hopes that he had come to draw the peace of order out of the warlike chaos of north Italy. He seemed to be a king indeed once again. But he knew that, with Germany against him, the support of the greater portion of Lombardy was of little worth. Disguising from his adherents at Pavia the dire necessity he was under of getting free from the excommunication which weighed upon him, and leaving them under the impression that as soon as he had had an interview with Gregory he would co-operate with them "in quite ridding himself and the whole kingdom from so sacrilegious a man,"[2] he advanced towards Reggio.

Canossa.

When the news that Henry, faithless to his engagements at Tribur, had left Spires and had crossed the Alps in safety reached Gregory, he was for a moment at a loss what to do. Unwilling to return to Rome, he accepted the invitation of Matilda, and retired with her to her famous castle of Canossa—a fortress so strong that "a few soldiers could defend it against a host; that a ten years' siege would not alarm it, for it was full of food, and was a mountain surrounded by walls; and that it feared no engine of war, nor the king himself."[3] Like a giant sentinel of the

[1] Lambert, 1077, *init.*

[2] Berthold, 1077.

[3] So sings the poet Donizo (i. c. 16).

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Apennines, it looked across the Lombard plain, over many a city, towards the misty Alps.

Leaving Reggio by a road which led to the south-west, and passing by Bibbiano, Henry and his small company soon caught sight of Canossa among the clouds on one of the high hills which here form the advance guard of the Apennines towards the great plain. Striking the broad roaring torrent of the Enza, they rode along its right bank to Ciano, and then began the steep ascent to the castle. As they mounted up, the sight of a few stalks, black and straggling, of some miserable vines protruding through the snow only served to throw out into greater prominence the utter barrenness of the hills all around them, on which not even the heats of summer could bring forth a blade of grass.[1] Disregarding the cold blasts which swept down the mountain side, and forcing their way through the snow up a path like the dry bed of a torrent, they saw tower after tower on the brow of first one peak and then another, and realised how completely they were in the hands of the Great Countess, and how all their movements were being watched and reported. At length, far in front of them, on a solid mass of rock which itself sprang from the breast of a mighty cliff, towered the strong, gloomy walls of the fortress of Canossa. Arrived there at last, Henry gazed around him before attempting to enter it. To the north, through the opening in the hills whence poured into the level country the torrent of the Enza, and away round to the east over the lower hills at his feet, he gazed on the fertile plain of Lombardy which stretched away like the rolling

[1] It was in the summer of 1906 that I examined all that is left of the stronghold of the Great Countess—a place visited, as I was informed by its old female custodian, by but very few of my countrymen, by "pochissimi Inglese." The fortress was destroyed in 1255 by the inhabitants of Reggio, who were under excommunication because Boniface of Canossa had plundered the property of Alexander IV.

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sea to the mighty barrier of the Alps, through which at the peril of his life he had just made his way. He looked on the walls and towers of Parma, of Reggio, and of Modena. But to the south, and especially to the west, there was nothing on which his eye could rest but ridge after ridge of the rugged, snow-covered Apennines.

To-day only a few fragments of the great castle are left standing. A column of marble is said to indicate the site of the chapel of the fortress, and the gateway, now known as the "Porta di penitenza," before which Henry stood for days in penitential garb, still exists. Traces of the castle's triple defensive wall may still be observed; but of the chapel of St. Nicholas, and of the dwellings which once clustered round the base of the castle-rock, there are now no remains.[1]

In these buildings, which formed quite a little town, and even in 1449 were known as "i borghi di Canossa," Henry found several of his bishops and laymen who had been excommunicated doing severe penance. They had crossed the Alps by different passes, had presented themselves to Gregory, and had received absolution from him after promising submission to his injunctions.[2]

Making use of the good offices of Matilda and his godfather, the abbot Hugh,[3] Henry begged the Pope through them to free him from excommunication, and not to trust the charges of the German princes. But Gregory replied that it was against the canons to judge an accused in the absence of his accusers. Let the king come to Augsburg, and the Pope would judge just judgment.[4]

[1] *Cf.* Stephens, p. 127 ff., who visited Canossa in 1886.

[2] Lambert, 1077, p. 289.

[3] "Venerat a Clunio vir mente simillimus agno,
Abbas abbatum maximus Hugo senex."
Rangerius, p. 83. *Cf.* Appendix.

[4] Lambert, 1077, p. 290. *Cf.* Donizo, ii. 1. Henry had frequently made the same request before he entered Italy, and for answer had

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Henry imploring the help of Matilda and Hugh of Cluny.
(From the Vatican MS. of Donnizo.)

(From *Matilda of Tuscany*, by Nora Duff. By permission of Messrs. Methuen & Co.)

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The fact was that the action of Henry had placed Gregory in a most awkward position. To absolve him without the knowledge of the German princes would not be fair to them, and yet not to absolve him would seem harsh.

Henry's penance. Jan. 25–27.

As he had failed to gain his ends by negotiation, Henry resolved to follow in the wake of his subjects, and to appear in penitential guise before the Pope, in order to win from him as a priest what he could not as a diplomatist. Like them,[1] with bare feet and clad in a coarse woollen shirt[2] over his other garments,[3] he stood in the courtyard of the castle, and craved to be admitted into the Pontiff's presence. But Gregory wished to deal with him only in Germany, and, besides, with good reason, profoundly distrusted him. He would submit his sincerity to a severe test, and would for a time take no heed of the king's petition. For three successive days did the unfortunate monarch wait in the cold for the Pope to relent. If Gregory was not moved by the sight of his touching humility, it affected all the others who saw it or heard of it. Many implored the Pope with tears to relent; all were astonished at his unwonted hardness of heart,[4] and

only received rebukes for his excesses: "Acriter eum de suis excessibus per omnes qui intercurrebant nuncios redargueremus." Ep. iv. 12. As Lambert in his narration of the events at Canossa seems to have been guided by the more sensational reports which reached him, we shall follow the official statements of the Pope himself and the more sober account of Donizo, who was there present. What our picture will thereby lose of the vivid colours of the imagination it is to be hoped it will gain by the more lasting pigments of truth.

[1] They had begged for absolution "nudis pedibus et laneis ad carnem induti." Lambert, 1077, p. 289. Such was then the customary penitential guise.

[2] "Deposito omni regio cultu miserabiliter, utpote discalciatus et laneis indutus." Ep. iv. 12.

[3] Gregorovius (*Rome*, iv. pt. i. p. 208) notes that Henry wore "the penitential shirt over his other garments."

[4] "Omnes quidem insolitam nostræ mentis duritiam mirarentur." Ep. iv. 12.

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some did not hesitate to tell him that he was displaying not apostolic severity, but tyrannical ferocity.[1]

At the close of the third day of his penance, Henry could endure his humiliation no longer. He would not, he said, break his shield any further.[2] In response to his earnest appeals to her (for Abbot Hugh assured him that she alone could succeed), Matilda made another pathetic appeal to the Pope, and at length induced him to allow Henry to appear before him. Unable to resist the king's ardent appeal for mercy, touched by his penance, and by the intercession of his friends,[3] Gregory agreed to absolve him on certain conditions to which he was to swear on the following day; because, as Berthold notes, the Pope "was as unwilling to be deceived as he was to deceive."[4]

Henry's promises, Jan. 28.

Profoundly convinced that Henry's tears and professions did not spring from his heart, Gregory did what in him lay to ensure his fidelity to his engagements. He had to

[1] *Ib.* It need not be pointed out to the intelligent that the very language of Gregory proves that he was not insensible to the king's humiliation; but he believed that it would be for Henry's good that his reckless pride should be lowered, and that, as the Saxons expressed it in a letter to him: "ut . . . ei quem inhonoravit cum suo dedecore honorem impenderet." Bruno, c. 108.

[2] "Non ego scutum
Ulterius frangam, multavit me quia papa."
Donizo, *ib.*

[3] Instantia compunctionis ejus et tanta omnium qui ibi aderant supplicatione devicti, . . . in communionis gratiam . . . recepimus." Ep. iv. 12. *Cf.* epp. coll. 20. "Victi ejus humilitate et multimodæ penitudinis exhibitione." "Videns humiliatum." VII. 14 *a*, p. 402.

[4] On the Canossa incident see, besides the authorities quoted, Bruno, c. 90; Ekkehard, 1076; Bernald, 1077; *Vita S. Anselm.*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 148, pp. 913-914; Bernried, c. 84; *L. P.* Rangerius (pp. 83, 84) sings of the pleadings of Hugh and of the tears of Matilda:

"Illi (Hugh) se sociat, et plus quam femina plorat,
Mathildis." (At the sight of her tears): "Tum vero lacrymas
vix inhibere potest (Gregory)."

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swear that he would abide by the Pope's final decision in his regard, and that he would accord a safe conduct through his dominions to the Pope himself, or to any who were on his business. To add solemnity to the oath, which Henry had no doubt taken, after the manner of sovereigns, through his counsellors, it was witnessed on behalf of the Pope by seven cardinals, and on behalf of the king by three bishops, Hugh of Cluny, the Countess Matilda, and many of the nobility.[1] Over and above this, he would seem to have promised to stand by the agreement he had made with the princes at Tribur, and to have been given to understand that the validity of his absolution depended upon his abiding by his oaths.[2] After the taking of the oath, Gregory said Mass, and gave the king Holy Communion. In offering him the Sacred Host, the Pope amplified the usual formula, saying: "If you are approaching with a good heart, and intend to observe what you have promised, may this Sacred Body be to you the salvation it was to most of the apostles, otherwise you will receive it unworthily, and without doubt will eat judgment to yourself."[3] The king received the Body of the Lord,

[1] "Aut justitiam secundum judicium ejus aut concordiam secundum consilium ejus faciam." See the formula of the oath, ap. Epp. Greg. iv. 12 *a*. *Cf.* iv. 12.

[2] "Papa videt lacrymas, sed non de corde fluentes,
Ad Christum spectat, dum vocet et jubeat;
Sed propter stantes importuneque rogantes,
Tandem solvit eum, sistit et ante Deum.
Jurat, suscipitur, et participare jubetur,
Sed nondum sceptro redditur aut solio."
Rangerius, p. 84; Bruno, c. 90.

[3] *Cod. Vat. A.* This formula corresponds generally with that given by Bonizo, l. viii., both ap. Watterich, i. 330. That given by Lambert is certainly fictitious, and the statement made by him and Berthold, that Henry shrank from receiving the Body of the Lord, cannot stand in face of the opposite assertion made by the better-informed Italians, Rangerius Donizo, Bonizo, and seemingly by Gregory himself:

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and after Mass was over was entertained to a banquet in the most friendly way by the Pope.

In taking a parting glance at this ever memorable scene, which has furnished even to our own age a common phrase to denote any surrender on the part of the temporal power to the spiritual, we shall confine ourselves to noting that historians see in the humiliation of the tall, powerful king[1] before the small, frail Pontiff,[2] a type of the "great victory of the moral power, represented by the Church, over rude despotism."[3] "No doubt," remarks Floto, "Henry had to undergo a severe penance; but still, if there be taken into account the series of events after 1075, the faults he committed, and the natural consequences of those faults, we need not be astonished at their dramatic termination. Nor ought we to be surprised at the exterior forms of the penance done by Henry. The custom of those barbarous times required them, and all submitted to them. In 1074, at Nuremburg, Henry had already presented himself before the legates in a similar manner. Moreover, it is a great mistake to look upon Gregory as a tyrant, full of rancour, and enjoying the sight of the sufferings and humiliations of his victim. As a matter of fact, the penitence of the king threw Gregory into a state of embarrassment, and was regarded by him as an untoward event, seeing that what he desired was the assembly of the princes of the empire."[4]

"Tandem eum, relaxato anathematis vinculo in communionis gratiam et sinum S. matris ecclesiæ recepimus." Ep. iv. 12. *Cf.* also Waltram, *De unitate ecclesiæ*, i. c. 6, and ii. c. 15: "Sacram communionem corporis et sanguinis Domini de manu pontificis accepit."

[1] "In turba procerum cæteris eminentior et major . . . videbatur." Anon., *in vit. Hen.*, c. 1, p. 12.

[2] Rangerius (p. 62) speaks of Gregory's "pigmæa membra."

[3] Gregorovius, *Rome*, iv. pt. i. p. 206. *Cf.* p. 207.

[4] *Heinrich der Vierte*, ii. p. 134, cited by Delarc, iii. 275 f. Of Floto's work, Stephens (p. ix) says it is "written too much in the spirit of a partisan of Henry IV.," and is one of the works from which Milman has largely drawn.

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CHAPTER VII.

HENRY IN LOMBARDY. THE DIET OF FORCHEIM AND THE ELECTION OF RUDOLF AS KING. NEGOTIATIONS AND BATTLES. HENRY AGAIN EXCOMMUNICATED BY GREGORY. THE ASSEMBLY AT BRIXEN, AND THE ELECTION OF AN ANTIPOPE. THE BATTLE ON THE ELSTER AND THE DEATH OF RUDOLF OF SUABIA.

Henry in Lombardy.

WHEN Henry returned to Reggio after his reconciliation with the Pope, he found that, if his action had disconcerted the councils of his enemies in Germany, had sown a feeling of distrust between them and the Pope, and had disappointed the Saxons,[1] it had, on the other hand, infuriated against him the powerful bishops of Lombardy, who had hoped that he would have effectually curbed the power of Gregory.[2] They affected to despise him for having paid any heed to the excommunication of one whom the bishops of Italy (Lombardy) had declared to be deposed for his manifold crimes,[3] and they contemptuously bade him, if he could, get his kingdom back again by the aid of the Pope.[4]

But if the hopes of the enemies of the Pope had been dashed to the ground by the lightning stroke of Canossa,

[1] Later on we find them telling the Pope that they felt it most bitterly, "quod ille, qui cum periculo animarum nostrarum vestigia pedum vestrorum adorare compulsus est, absque nostro consilio et sine correctione absolutus, ad nocendum nobis libertatem recepit." Bruno, c. 108.

[2] "Ivit
Urbem Reginam, qua stabat turba maligna
Pontificum, valde metuentes hanc fore pacem."
Donizo, ii. 1.

[3] Lambert, 1077, p. 298.

[4] Bruno, c. 90.

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those of his friends rose. The Patarines of Milan definitely took the upper hand. A deputation of its citizens, among whom was the now repentant historian Arnulf, came to the Pope to beg for absolution for having held intercourse with the excommunicated Tedald.[1] Their request was granted through the agency of Anselm of Lucca and Cardinal Gerald of Ostia,[2] who were dispatched by the Pope to Milan and other cities of Lombardy to take advantage of the reaction in his favour. But their mission was brought to an abrupt termination by the seizure and imprisonment of Gerald by the bishop of Piacenza.[3]

This and other similar facts soon convinced "the Lombard bulls" that they had no cause to be dissatisfied with their champion. By his every act Henry made it plain to them that, if his lips had sworn, his heart was yet unchanged. It was rumoured that he had attempted to seize the person of the Pope by treachery,[4] and that by night he held secret conferences with Guibert of Ravenna, with the Roman Cencius, and with other enemies of the Church.[5] And it is certain that, when he came to Piacenza, he made no effort to procure the release of the apostolic legate Gerald, and that, too, despite the intercesssion in his behalf of his mother Agnes. He did not hesitate, however, to ask Gregory to name a bishop to crown him at Monza, with a view to appearing to have received from the Pope not only

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 83 ff. [2] Arnulf, v. 9.

[3] Berthold, 1077; Bernald, 1077; Greg. Ep. v. 7; *vit. Anselmi*, p. 914.

[4] Donizo, ii. 1. After an interview at Bianello (near Canossa) in March, when Henry beheld Gregory and Matilda for the last time:

"Nuncius advenit, qui secretum patefecit
Regis Heinrici, qui papam tradere dicit."

Cf. Chron. Cas., iii. 49.

[5] *Cod. Vat. A*, and Bonizo, l. viii. Berthold, however, declares that Cencius died suddenly before getting his desired interview with the king.

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communion, but also his kingly rights (*regnum*).[1] But Gregory gave him clearly to understand that as long as *Peter*, in the person of his ambassador, was in bonds, he would never authorise his coronation. For the nonce Henry gave way, and "with feigned submission did not usurp the royal insignia at Monza."[2]

The Pope and the princes.

Meanwhile the Pope had written to tell "the princes of the kingdom of the Teutons who were defending the Christian faith" how it had happened that the king's humble penance had compelled him to absolve him, but he assured them at the same time that the question of Henry's civil position was untouched, "was still in suspense," and could only be settled as arranged, viz., by their decision in his presence.[3] This letter and the explanations of its bearer, Rapoto, did something to restore to the princes the confidence of which the king's escape and absolution had deprived them. Henry's power in Lombardy, the severity of the season, and their own want of bold, prompt action caused the abandonment of the Augsburg meeting. A number of them, however, met at Ulm in Suabia about the middle of February, and arranged for the holding of a larger assembly at Forcheim on the 13th of March. They also sent to beg the Pope to be present at it, and to obtain, if possible, a safe conduct from the king.[4]

But if it was Gregory's earnest wish to preside at

[1] "Ob hoc maxime appetens coronari, ut cum communione etiam regnum a Romano Pontifice videretur recepisse." Bernried, c. 86. *Cf.* Berthold, 1077, who states that Henry wished to be crowned at Pavia.

[2] Bernried, *ib.*

[3] "Ita adhuc totius negocii causa suspensa est, ut et adventus noster et consiliorum vestrorum unanimitas permaxime necessaria esse videantur." Ep. iv. 12, *c.* January 28. *Cf.* epp. coll. 20.

[4] Bernried, c. 88; Lambert, 1077, p. 301; Berthold, 1077; epp. coll. 20.

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Forcheim,[1] it was not really that either of Rudolf or Henry. The former, anxious apparently to be elected king himself, did not desire the presence either of an impartial judge or a rival;[2] nor did the latter desire that the good understanding between the Pope and the princes should be strengthened. Hence he would neither go to the diet himself nor give the Pope a safe conduct.[3]

The diet of Forcheim, March 13, 1077.

Accordingly, the diet of Forcheim was opened without the assistance either of Pope or king, though the former was represented by two legates, the cardinal-deacon Bernard, and another Bernard, the abbot of St. Victor in Marseilles. But their commission did not extend beyond presenting the Pope's letter to the assembly, and exhorting the princes to defer the election of a new king till he could be with them, "if they thought that that could be done with safety."[4]

On the appointed day there assembled at Forcheim thirteen bishops and a great number of the princes of the empire. The papal legates, who were received by the assembly with the greatest respect, explained to them the little reason the Pope had had to be satisfied with the manner in which Henry had so far fulfilled the promises he had made at Canossa, but begged them, in the Pope's name, to postpone, if it could be done with safety, the

[1] "Hæc est voluntas et desiderium nostrum: ut, vel consensu regis vel si eo nolente fieri possit, ad vos pro communi utilitate . . . pertranseamus." Epp. coll. 20. So wrote Gregory in response to the request of the princes (February-March 1077).

[2] See Berthold, 1077, for his efforts to dissuade Henry from being present. *Cf.* Delarc, iii. 290.

[3] Lambert, 1077, p. 302; Bernried, c. 90.

[4] Bernried, c. 93. It is very important to note that Gregory did not give any direct encouragement to the princes to proceed to the election of a new king, though he did tell one of their envoys that, if Henry granted the safe conduct, he would regard it as a sign that he could be restored to his kingdom, but that, if he would not, he would hold it as a sign from heaven that he could not. Bernried, c. 89.

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question of the election of a new king till he could join them.[1]

When, however, the papal envoys had listened to the recital of Henry's misdeeds, they could only express their astonishment that the people had endured his rule so long.[2] Nor could they find it in their hearts to oppose the unanimous election of Rudolf of Suabia as king, especially after he had engaged not to interfere with the freedom of episcopal elections, and not to endeavour to make the kingdom hereditary[3] (March 15).

Rudolf crowned king, 1077.

Eleven days after the closing of the diet, Rudolf was crowned[4] with great pomp in the grand old romanesque cathedral at Mainz by its archbishop, Siegfried (March 26). But the day of his coronation was not an auspicious one for the new king. In the course of it, as the result of some petty quarrel, a conflict took place between the citizens and the retainers of the nobles. The people were subdued and punished, but showed themselves so hostile that Rudolf and the archbishop made haste to leave the city. The first drops had fallen of that torrent of blood with which the election of Rudolf was to deluge the soil of

[1] Bernried, c. 93; Lambert, 1077, p. 303. At this point, unfortunately, the latter historian, "extremo jam in opere languescentes ingentisque materiæ mole superati," lays down his graphic pen. To my mind the notes which Holder-Egger has added to Lambert are more difficult to reconcile with the truth than is the abused text of the monk of Hersfeld.

[2] "Non parum mirati sunt, quod quamdiu illum super se sustinuerunt." Berthold, 1077.

[3] Bernried, cc. 93–95; Berthold, 1077; Bonizo, l. viii.; Bruno, c. 91. Rudolf was elected, says the author of the *vita Anselmi* (p. 914) "ad defendendam catholicæ ecclesiæ unitatem."

[4] If Gregory ever sent a crown to Rudolf, it was after his recognition of him as king in the Roman synod of 1080. Sigebert of Gemblours (*Chron.*, 1077) is unquestionably mistaken in saying that he sent him at this time a crown with the inscription, "Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rudolfo."

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Germany.[1] And the new king had done more on the day of his coronation than alienate a great city. By causing a deacon, charged with simony, who had been appointed to sing the Gospel, to give place to another, he made it plain to the lax members of the clerical body that he was pledged to the Gregorian reforms. That was enough. His most bitter and powerful enemies were throughout the rest of his life the refractory spirits among the clergy, and, beginning their hostility to him at once, it was they who, according to Bernried and Bernald, brought about the disturbance on his coronation day.

The Pope and Henry are informed of the election of Rudolf.

Rudolf lost no time in informing the Pope of his election, begging of him to come to Germany, and promising to send troops to escort him—a promise which the difficulties of his situation rendered him unable to fulfil.[2] The precipitation of the princes in electing a new king was as disconcerting to Gregory as it was satisfactory to Henry. The Pope persistently declared that the election had been made without his knowledge or consent.[3] Henry, however, at once put him into a dilemma, by calling on him to excommunicate his rival. But if Henry was "a shrewd and crafty man," Gregory was himself not without the wisdom of the serpent; and he replied that he would do as the king wished, if, when called upon to do so, Rudolf proved unable to justify his conduct.[4] Foiled and furious, Henry declared that the Pope was responsible for the election,[5] and,

[1] "Quod factum magnam cladem intulit Romano orbi." Bonizo, l. viii. *Cf.* Bruno, cc. 91–93; Bernried, c. 98; Berthold, 1077. Ekkehard, 1077, speaks of the apostolic legates not giving a ready assent to the election of Rudolf and "ipsum apostolicum, sicut ipse postea facere solebat, ab hoc consensu excusantium."

[2] Berthold, 1077.

[3] *Cf.*, *e.g.*, ep. viii. 51.

[4] Bonizo, *l.c.*, and *Cod. Vat. A*, ap. Watterich, i. 332; Bernald, 1077; Greg., ep. vii. 14 *a*, p. 403.

[5] Rangerius, p. 91.

"Sed factum Papæ miser imputat, arguit illum
Corruptæ fidei perfidus, atque redit."

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realising that he must now play the man, raised money and troops. Then definitely throwing off the mask which he had worn but clumsily since his penance at Canossa, he entrusted his son to the simoniacal bishops of Lombardy,[1] and set out for Germany (April), "to fight to the death for his kingdom."[2]

The donation of Matilda, 1077.

For two or three months after the departure of Henry from Italy, Gregory remained in the neighbourhood of Canossa, hoping that an opportunity would be afforded him of going to Germany to arbitrate between its rival kings. Finding at length that there was no immediate prospect of his desire being fulfilled, he returned to Rome about the middle of September, and was received with every demonstration of joy by the citizens.[3]

It would seem that the Great Countess followed the Pope to Rome, and in the chapel of the Holy Cross attached to the Lateran Palace proclaimed that the Pope was to be the heir of her great possessions.[4] "For the good of her own soul and that of her parents," she gave to St. Peter, in the person of Gregory, all that she then had, or might hereafter acquire, on both sides of the mountains,[5] and in feudal style invested the Roman Church with her estates, which seem to have been chiefly situated in the dioceses of Parma,

[1] "Filium suum Symonianis (*sic.*, *i.e.*, symoniacis) antiepiscopis, Mediolanensi, Placentino, et cæteris per Italiam excommunicatis procurandum commendaverat." Berthold, 1077, p. 388.

[2] Almost the last words of Arnulf's history of the archbishops of Milan.

[3] *Cod. Vat. A*; Bonizo, etc.

[4] "Propria clavigero sua subdidit omnia Petro,
Janitor est cœli suus hæres, ipsaque Petri,
Accipiens scriptum de cunctis papa benignus."
Donizo, ii. c. 1. *Cf. Chron. Cas.*, iii. 49.

This chronicle specifies the provinces of Liguria and Tuscany as those given by Matilda.

[5] Among the witnesses of her offering are cited members of the historic Roman families of the Frangipani and the Pierleoni. See her confirmatory charter ap. Theiner, *Cod. Diplom.*, i. 10, etc.

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Reggio, Modena, and Mantua, and which, in part at least, were held by the Popes, down to our own times, "by knife and knotty twig, by glove, and by sod of earth and branch of tree."[1] In 1102 she renewed her donation at Canossa, as the charter of her previous one was not forthcoming. It is this confirmatory charter which has come down to us.[2] Soon after engraved on marble, it may still be seen in part in the crypt of St. Peter's.[3]

Death of the prefect Cinthius and the Empress Agnes, 1077.

But if, from the submission of Henry, and the donation of Matilda, the year 1077 was the most glorious of Gregory's reign, it was not without its troubles, which foreshadowed or prepared the way for the evil days which were to come upon him. Just before he returned to Rome, his staunch supporter Cinthius, the virtuous prefect of Rome, had been murdered by the brother of Cencius;[4] and not long after his return the empress-mother Agnes died (December 14, 1077).[5]

The rival kings at war.

From the time that Henry appeared in Germany till the death of Rudolf (October 15, 1080), *i.e.*, for nearly three years and a half, there ensued between them an uninterrupted series of battles and negotiations. During most of that period, for well-nigh three years, Gregory persistently refused to favour either claimant, and used all his efforts to promote peace. For Rudolf stood the party of reform and the Saxons, while Henry could count on the

[1] "Per cultellum, festucam nodatam, gantonem et guuasionem terre atque remum arboris." Tosti notes that the first Communes arose and lived a life worthy of poetry in the lands of Matilda. "Her donation to St. Peter . . . was the greatest event of those times; for it reduced to fact on the soil of Italy an idea of civil regeneration which, under the sacred cover of dogmas and canons, the great Gregory unfolded to the world." *La Contessa Matilda*, p. 225.

[2] Ap. Fabre, *Le Liber Censuum*, i. 379; *P. L.*, t. 148, p. 1035 ff., etc.

[3] Dufresne, *Les cryptes vaticanes*, p. 37 f.

[4] *Cf.* Bonizo, l. viii., ap. Watterich, i. 333; Berthold, 1077, p. 405.

[5] Berthold, *ib.*, p. 403.

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larger clerical party which was opposed to reform, on the towns, which hoped to obtain from him an increase of their privileges, on much of southern Germany and Lombardy, on those who were instinctively loyal to the reigning house, and on Wratislaus and his wild Bohemians.

In the hope of preventing civil war, Gregory addressed a letter to his legates in Germany, the two Bernards, to call upon the two kings to guarantee him a safe journey to their country, so that, with the concurrence of the clergy and the laity of the kingdom, he might decide as to the rightful ruler of the country.[1] Incalculable harm, he said, would accrue to the whole Church if he were in any way to be careless about the conduct of this most important matter. In another letter of the same date (May 31, 1077), addressed to all the faithful "in the kingdom of the Teutons," he informs them of the instructions he had given to his legates, and begs them, as he had ordered his legates, to favour the king who should help forward the negotiations, and oppose the one who endeavoured to hinder them. "For if the See of Blessed Peter passes judgment on things spiritual, how much more on mere earthly concerns."[2]

The fact that Henry first agreed to attend a meeting in presence of the legates, and then violated his engagements,[3] allowing even the abbot-legate to be held as a prisoner,[4] caused Cardinal Bernard at Goslar to declare him ex-

[1] "Desideramus enim cum consilio clericorum atque laicorum ejusdem regni, . . . causam inter eos Deo favente discutere, et cujus parti magis ad regni gubernacula justitia favet, demonstrare." IV. 23.

[2] IV. 24. Berthold says that Henry affected to despise these letters, and imprisoned their bearer. An. 1077, p. 398.

[3] Berthold, *l.c.*, p. 399 f. "Rex Heinricus . . . fidem per principes ejus jam condictam perfidus infringens . . . toto quoad poterat ingenio ne convenirent, illis (the great ones of the empire) undique sollertissimus obstiterat."

[4] *Ib.*, p. 394. *Cf.* Bernald, 1077; Greg., epp. v. 7; vi. 15.

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communicated, and to pronounce in favour of Rudolf (November 12).[1]

Lenten synod at Rome, Feb. 25-March 3, 1078.

However much Henry may have been disposed to set at naught this sentence of the legate, he was anxious that it should not be confirmed by the Pope in his forthcoming Lenten synod, and so sent to Rome Bishops Benno of Osnabruck and Dietrich of Verdun to defend his cause.[2]

Before nearly a hundred bishops assembled in the Lateran basilica,[3] Henry's envoys pleaded his case with great skill; but, while not endorsing the action of Cardinal Bernard, the Pope wisely insisted that the only satisfactory method of bringing the struggle between the rival kings to an end was by the decision of a great diet of the empire. To preside over it he would send distinguished legates; and, bewailing the damage which the confusion in the empire was daily inflicting on the Church, he declared that whoever should attempt to thwart the work of such an assembly was *ipso facto* excommunicated. "Moreover, by our apostolic power we will that the effects of the anathema should fall even on the body of such a one, and that victory should be taken away from his arms."[4]

For two more years Gregory refrains from pronouncing for either king, 1078-1080.

Letter after letter notified this sentence to the German people, exhorting all to see that it was carried into effect.[5] Insincere negotiations took place between the rivals,[6] though their envoys swore before two Roman synods that their masters had not hindered, but were striving

[1] Berthold, *ib.*, p. 402. *Cf.* Bruno, c. 112.

[2] *Ib.*, 1078 *init.* Ep. vii. 14 *a*, p. 403.

[3] Deusdedit, *Collect. can.*, iv. c. 106, p. 422. The acts (ap. Greg., *Regest.*, v. 14 *a*) say nearly a hundred bishops. *Cf.* Berthold, 1078, p. 408 f.

[4] "Vinculo eum anathematis alligamus, et non solum in spiritu verum etiam in corpore et omni prosperitate hujus vitæ apostolica potestate innodamus." V. 14 *a*, p. 307. *Cf.* VII. 14 *a*, p. 403, and Bernried, c. 99.

[5] V. 15 and 16, and vi. 1, epp. coll. 25. [6] *Cf.* Delarc, iii. 416 ff.

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to arrange for the meeting of the assembly ordered by the Pope.[1]

The Saxons blame the Pope.

As Henry meanwhile did not refrain from inflicting severe injuries on his enemies whenever he had an opportunity,[2] the reserve of the Pope greatly irritated the Saxons and other supporters of Rudolf. Strong remonstrances reached him from various quarters, especially from the Saxons, who, says Bruno,[3] had lost faith in the apostolic rock. They had believed, he adds, that the heavens would stand still before the Chair of Peter would lose the constancy of Peter. However, he continues, as he is afraid of the handmaiden of this world, they are sending him a letter which they trust will act on him, as the crowing of the cock acted on Peter, and will make him, after looking to Christ, return to his former constancy.[4] The burden of their communication is that the Pope's remissness in declaring in Rudolf's favour is the cause of the terrible misery which war is bringing on the whole of Germany.[5] They implore him not to turn back on the path he has had the courage to enter.

His apology.

These and similar remonstrances full of half-truths stung Gregory as only half-truths can, and we find him defend-

[1] November 19, 1078, vi. 5 *b*; February 11, 1079, vi. 17 *a*.

[2] Scotus, *Chron.*, 1078. [3] *De bello*, c. 107.

[4] On the true date of this Saxon "cock-crow," viz., after the Lenten synod of 1078, see Delarc, iii. 422 n.

[5] The evils of the struggle they sum up as follows: "Bella intestina et plus quam civilia, homicidia innumerabilia, vastationes, incendia, sine differentia domus et ecclesiæ, oppressiones pauperum incomparabiles, rerum ecclesiasticarum direptiones quales numquam audivimus, . . . legum quoque divinarum et secularium defectus sine spe reparationis." And, as having an important bearing on the position and power of the future emperors of Germany, it is noted that the dissipation of the royal demesnes (*regalia*) is such that their kings will in future have to live by plunder. Bruno, c. 108. On this last point see the third letter of the Saxons (*ib.*, c. 112), "Regnum dici non valeat, cui nulla pene regalia supersunt."

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ing himself both before the Bavarians[1] and the Germans generally. Writing "to all those in the Teutonic kingdom who are faithful to St. Peter," he says: "It has come to my knowledge that some of you think that, under the pressure of circumstances, I have shown myself fickle. But in all this affair, except so far as the stress of actual battle is concerned (*præter instantiam præliorum*), no one of you has suffered greater trials and injuries than I have.[2] With but few exceptions all the Lombards[3] are in favour of Henry, and accuse me of excessive harshness and uncharitableness in his regard. Up to this, however, disregarding their remonstrances, we have favoured neither party, except in so far as our conscience dictated to be just and proper. If our legates have acted contrary to our instructions, we are sorry for it; and we understand that they acted as they did partly because they were deceived, and partly because they were forced. We, however, had instructed them to arrange a suitable time and place, so that we might send fit and proper legates to examine your cause, to restore the exiled bishops, and to give the necessary instructions to avoid intercourse with excommunicated persons." The letter concludes with an exhortation to perseverance under trial.[4]

Gregory at length recognises Rudolf as king, March 1080.

After the great but indecisive battle between the two kings near Melrichstadt on the Streu, August 7, 1078, the Saxons redoubled their appeals to the Pope, because they remembered, says Bruno,[5] that it took a second crow of the cock to rouse Peter. They told him how difficult it was

[1] Ep. vi. 14, December 30, 1078. [2] *Cf.* epp. coll. 26.

[3] Latini, *i.e.*, Italici, *i.e.*, in the language of the time, the Lombards. There is indeed another reading, *laici*; but that cannot be the correct one, because it is anything but true that nearly all the laymen were in favour of Henry. In Germany especially the opposite was true. *Cf.* ep. viii. 26, where Gregory speaks of Henry, "cui ferme omnes *Italici* favent."

[4] Ep. vii. 3, October 1, 1079. [5] *De bello*, c. 109.

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for them to send envoys to him, because the road to Rome, which "at all times ought to be open to all peoples, tribes, and tongues, was closed, and closed especially to those who had laboured not a little for the honour of him to whose body that road led." And they begged him to confirm the excommunication launched against Henry by his legate Bernard, adding: "Your coming to us is as much longed for by us as it is necessary, but we know well that our enemies will never suffer you to come to us unless they are certain that you will act not according to justice, but in harmony with their will, and that you will favour them."[1] In another letter they ask with bitterness if Henry has improved during the three years since he was found incorrigible,[2] and again assure the Pope that his idea of a general assembly can never be realised,[3] and that he can and ought to stop the evils they are enduring.[4]

So angry did the Saxons become that they declared that the new papal legates whom Gregory, in response to the Saxon appeals, had dispatched to Germany after the synod of February 1079[5] did nothing but go from one party to another getting money from each, "after the fashion of the Romans," by promising the papal support first to one side and then to the other.[6] This accusation, indeed, does not seem altogether void of foundation; for, in writing to these envoys, Gregory tells them that men are saying that one of them is acting with too great simplicity, and the other without simplicity enough.[7]

[1] *De bello*, c. 110.

[2] *Ib.*, c. 112. It is thought (Delarc, iii. 459) that this letter was read before the Roman synod of February 1079, and helped to increase the feeling against Henry in Rome. *Cf.* Berthold, 1079, p. 426.

[3] *Ib.*, c. 114. [4] *Ib.*, c. 115. [5] *Cf.* ep. coll. 31. [6] *Ib.*, c. 116.

[7] Ep. coll. 31. On the date of this letter, written seemingly before October 1079, *cf.* Delarc, iii. 473 n. According to Berthold (1079, p. 436), one of the new legates, viz. Udalrich, bishop of Pavia, had allowed himself to be bought by Henry. *Cf. ib.*, 1080 *sub fin.*

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Gregory's wishes and work for the holding, in presence of his legates, of a great diet of the empire to settle the claims of the rival kings were not to be realised. He had striven to bring it about, because he felt that "the party which was found not to have justice on its side would, when overcome by argument and constrained by the authority of Blessed Peter, yield more easily, and, by the mercy of God, cease from causing the death of the souls and bodies of men. Whereas the party favoured by justice would have a fuller confidence in God, and, helped by the power of Blessed Peter and by the concurrence of all who loved justice, would have confident hope of victory, and would fear the death neither of soul nor body."[1]

But neither party really wished for a fair discussion of their claims on equal terms, least of all, perhaps, Henry. Accordingly, gathering together an army in the winter (1079–1080), he made an attempt to surprise the Saxons. He was, however, defeated at Flarcheim[2] on the Unstrut, in Thuringia (January 27, 1080).

Confounded by his failure, conscious of having been false to the engagements he had entered into at Canossa, and convinced that Gregory would no longer tolerate his arbitrary and evil appointments to bishoprics, he was at pains to send envoys well supplied with money to the synod which Gregory had summoned for the beginning of March[3] (1080). Thither also were sent the ambassadors of Rudolf.

[1] VI. 1.

[2] Not far from Mühlhausen in Prussian Saxony.

[3] Berthold, an. 1080, p. 442. With this item of information the annals of Berthold unfortunately come to an abrupt close. According to Bonizo, Henry's envoys were commissioned to inform the Pope that if he were willing to excommunicate Rudolf, their master would pay him due obedience; but, if not, that he would procure a Pope who would do his will. *Ad amicum*, l. ix. *init.* *Cf. Cod. Vat. A.*

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The Synod at which Rudolf is recognised as king.

Some fifty bishops and a great number of abbots and inferior clergy met together in the Lateran basilica, and, after condemning investitures,[1] gave audience to the envoys of Rudolf. They urged that Henry, deprived of his kingdom by the apostolic authority, had again taken possession of it, carrying fire and sword everywhere; that his cruelty had driven bishops from their sees, which he had at once given to his favourites; that bishops and thousands of men had lost their lives through him; that those princes who, not to put themselves in opposition to the Holy See, had refused to obey him, had had to endure every indignity; and that it was he who had hindered the assembling of the diet that was to decide on the merits of the rival kings.[2]

Theodoric of Verdun pretends that the ambassadors of Henry, so far from being allowed to speak, were exposed to insults.[3] No doubt the Fathers of the council had had enough of the deceitful words of Henry, who was as faithless as our own Charles I. However this may be, Gregory solemnly renewed the excommunication he had previously inflicted upon him. Telling the assembled Fathers of all his relations with Henry, he reminded them that, when he had seen the king's humility at Canossa, and had listened to his promises of amending his life, he had restored him to communion, but not to his throne, and that he had acted in this way in order that he might make peace

[1] *Cf. Reg.* vii. 14 *a.*; Bernried, cc. 106, 107; Deusdedit, *Collect. can.*, iv. c. 54; and *Libell. contra invas.*, c. 1, n. 16, ap. *Mon. G. Libell.*, ii.

[2] *Propositio Rudolfi regis contra Heinricum*, ap. Watterich, i. 437.

[3] Ep. Wenrici, n. 8. Soon after this we find Theodoric writing most abusively of Gregory, calling him "not the head but the tail of the Church," etc. Ep. ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 129. "Hildebrandus qui dicebatur caput, jam est cauda ecclesiæ; qui fundamentum, jam detrimentum est ecclesiæ; qui decus, jam dedecus est ecclesiæ," etc.

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between him and his bishops and nobles. The promises which Henry had made to him to further this settlement of the question had been broken, and the princes of the empire, "giving up, so to speak, all faith in him, without any communication with me, as you know,[1] elected Duke Rudolf as their king. The new sovereign at once sent word to me that he had been compelled to accept the reins of government, and that he was ready to obey me in all things—a promise he has repeated ever since." Proceeding, he assured the synod that, when appealed to by Henry for help against Rudolf, he had always declared he was prepared to give it when he had been enabled to judge of the claims of the two rivals, and that up to this very time he had only stood for justice. Despite the sentence of excommunication which he had decreed against any who should hinder the meeting of the assembly which was to decide on the position of Henry, that monarch had incurred the excommunication by preventing the holding of the diet, and had been the cause of the death of a great multitude of Christian men, of the destruction of churches, and of the ruin of almost the whole kingdom of the Teutons. "Wherefore, trusting in the judgment and mercy of God, and of his most loving Mother, Mary, ever virgin, and relying on the authority of the apostles Peter and Paul, I subject to excommunication and bind with the bonds of anathema the above mentioned Henry called king, and all his supporters. And once again, in the name of Almighty God and of the apostles Peter and Paul, do I forbid him all authority in the kingdom of the Teutons and of Italy; I deprive him of all kingly power and dignity; I command all Christians to refrain from obeying him as king; and I absolve from their oaths all

[1] *Cf.* ep. viii. 51. Gregory always declares he had nothing to do with Rudolf's election.

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who may have sworn obedience to him as their ruler." Then, after praying for defeat for Henry and victory for the new king whom he now recognised, he granted remission of all their sins to those who were faithful to Rudolf.

He brought this tremendous allocution to a close in words which might have come from the lips of the inspired Isaias: "Most revered Fathers and princes, act now, I beg you, in such a way that the whole world may know that, if you can bind and loose in heaven, you can on earth give and take away, in accordance with deserts, empires, kingdoms, principalities, duchies, marquisates, counties, and the possessions of all men. . . . Let kings and the princes of the world now learn who you are and what is your power; and let them fear to make light of the commands of the Church. And in the case of Henry, put your decision into effect so promptly, that all may see that he falls not by chance, but by your power. Let him be confounded, but to penance, that in the day of the Lord his soul may be saved."[1]

A crown for Rudolf (?)

It was at the close of this eventful synod, if ever, that Gregory sent to Rudolf a crown with the inscription to the effect that "The Rock (which is Christ) gave a crown to Peter, and Peter gives it to Rudolf."[2]

Henry's envoys stir up resistance to Gregory.

Both parties now felt that the die had been finally cast, and that it was war to the death. The king's excommunication and his money, which his envoys distributed among

[1] VII. 14 *a*.

[2] "Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rudolfo." *Cf.* Sigebert, *Chron.*, 1077. As it is certain that Gregory did not send a crown to Rudolf in 1077, many suspect that Sigebert's account of its dispatch is wholly mythical. It is, however, supported by Landulf, iv. 1, and William of Malmesbury, *De gest. Reg.*, l. iii., sub an. 1085, who speaks of Rudolf, to whom Gregory had sent a crown in the name of the apostles.

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the people, caused party feeling to run high in Rome.[1] In Tuscany also, as they passed through it on their way back to Germany, Henry's ambassadors succeeded in raising a formidable opposition to the Great Countess. Once in Lombardy, they invited its princes to assemble at Brixen.[2]

Guiscard is absolved, 1080.

On his side Gregory, through the agency of the abbot Desiderius, secured the support of the Normans. Journeying southwards, he had an interview with the formidable duke of the Normans at Aquino (June 29). Condoning some of Guiscard's aggressions, he received his homage, and with a banner invested him with the duchy of Apulia and Calabria.[3] But in declaring him possessed of the lands which his predecessors Nicholas and Alexander had granted him, he left Guiscard's rights to Salerno, to Amalfi, and to part of the Mark of Fermo, an open question.[4]

Reception of Henry's excommunication in Germany.

No sooner did the news reach Germany of the renewed papal excommunication of Henry than his bishops began to inveigh against Gregory even during Mass, and went about everywhere declaring that he was not to be recognised as Pope.[5] Nineteen of them met at Mainz (May 31,

[1] "Quod factum (the king's excommunication) populo Romano magnam dedit fluctuationem." Bonizo, *l.c.*

[2] *Ib.*

[3] *Cod. Vat. A*; Bonizo, *l.c.*, ap. Watterich, i. 336; *Chron. brev. Nortman.*, 1080, ap. *R. I. SS.*, v. 278; Anna Comnena, *Alexiad.*, i. 13 (her account, if very inaccurate, is very entertaining). William of Apulia (l. iv. *init.*) says Guiscard swore ever to be faithful to that Church to which the whole world is subject, "totus cui subjacet orbis." *Chron. Cas.*, iii. 45.

[4] See the investiture formula, ap. *Reg.*, viii. 1 *b*. Robert did likewise in his oath to Gregory (viii. 1 *a*). *Cf.* his promise to pay "annualiter pro unoquoque jugo boum pensionem, duodecim scilicet denarios Papiensis monetæ" on Easter Sunday (viii. 1 *c*). *Cf. supra*, p. 58.

[5] Gebehardi Ep., n. 15, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, i.

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1080), and decreed (some of them only under pressure)[1] that, as the only way to cure the evils of Church and State was "to cut off the head of the pestiferous serpent, by whose poisonous breath they had been caused," Hildebrand, "the execrable disturber of the laws of God and man," had to be deposed and a more worthy elected in his stead.[2]

The council of Brixen.

When the king and his bishops had taken this preliminary step, "they hesitated for a long time before taking the next. They feared the wisdom of the man (*i.e.*, of Gregory); his resources confounded them; the quickness of his intelligence astounded them; and, what is wont especially to strike men, his command of money made a deep impression upon them." So speaks even Guido of Ferrara.[3] But they realised they had gone too far to retreat. Summoning the bishops of Germany to meet him at Brixen, a small town in Austrian Tyrol, conveniently situated on the great road which led by the Brenner pass from Italy into Germany,[4] Henry found himself, on June 25, 1080, surrounded by thirty bishops, mostly from Lombardy.[5]

[1] Theodoric of Verdun says he voted: "terribiliter astrictus, multipliciter coactus." See his letter to the elect of Trier, ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Bamber.*, p. 132.

[2] See the letter of Huzman, bishop of Spires, announcing the decrees of Mainz to the bishops of Lombardy, ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Bamber.*, p. 126 f. *Cf.* the acts of the council of Brixen (*ib.* p. 135) and Guido of Ferrara (*De scismate*, i. 19). "Episcopi dampnationis in eum (Yldebrandum) sententiam protulerunt, *Heinrico rege jubente*, et consensum præbente voluntati eorum."

[3] Guido, *l.c.*, i. 20.

[4] Delarc, iii. 510. Rangerius says that the dark vale of Brixen was a suitable place for the deed of darkness there wrought :—

> "Vallis erat stygiæ caliginis, et locus ipse
> Hororem faceret et mala signa daret.
> . . . . . .
> Noctis opus talem debet habere locum."
>
> P. 113. *Cf. Vit. S. Anselmi*, p. 915.

[5] Only four of those bishops who had ventured to depose Gregory at Worms were present at this assembly. Not all the thirty bishops

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After setting forth a wholly false sketch of Gregory's career, the assembled prelates decreed that "the same most insolent Hildebrand, the preacher of sacrilege and conflagration, the defender of perjury and homicide, who, as an old disciple of the heretic Berengarius, has put in doubt the catholic and apostolic doctrine of the Body and Blood of the Lord, this observer of omens and dreams, and this undoubted necromancer who is under the influence of a pythonic spirit, and therefore out of the true faith, must be canonically deposed and expelled from his see."[1] The first to affix his signature to this childish decree was Cardinal Hugo Candidus, who impudently signed "for all the Roman cardinals"; the last was Henry, "by the grace of God king."

Guibert of Ravenna is chosen as antipope.

It was, however, not so easy for the assembly to find a successor to Gregory as to declare him deposed. Tedald of Milan refused the proferred honour.[2] It was at length accepted by Guibert of Ravenna,[3] whose ambition and

present at Brixen signed the decrees against Gregory. The niche is still shown in the old Church of St. John the Evangelist at Brixen where the little Benno of Osnabruck hid himself during the synod so that he might not have to vote against the Pope.

[1] Acta synodi, ap. *Mon. Bamber.*, p. 133 ff. *Cf. Ann. Augustani* (imperialist in leaning), ad an., ap. *M. G. SS.*, iii. "Colloquium regis in Brixina. Gregorius . . . præsumptuose repudiatus excommunicatur. Wicpertus . . . *minus sapientum* consensu Gregorio VII. superponitur." The *Annales Palidenses* (ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi.) call this synod "a conventicle of heretics."

[2] Landulf, iv. 2, ap. *R. I. SS.*, iv.

[3] Greg., ep. viii. 5; Bernried, c. 108; *Cod. Vat. A* (ap. Watterich, i. 337), which calls Guibert "verum manifeste perjurum atque omni malitia atque dolositate plenum"; Bonizo (ap. *ib.*), etc. Donizo (ii. 1) says of Guibert:—

"Lubricus et mendax erat iste Guibertus aberrans,
. . . . . .
Pompam mundanam plus ipso nullus amabat,
Religione caret, sic quod nec eam scit amare."

Guibert belonged to the family of the Giberti, counts of Parma, and was related to the Great Countess. This has been proved by Count Riant (*Un dernier triomphe d'Urbain II.*, p. 4, Paris, 1883).

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opposition to Gregory have been already noted, but who, we are assured by Guido,[1] "was not less noble by his character than by his birth."

After engaging to crown one another at Rome in the near future, Guibert, assuming the insignia of the sovereign Pontiff, and calling himself Clement III.,[2] entered Italy with the pomp of which he was so enamoured, while Henry devoted himself to the war against Rudolf.

He is to be reduced by force.

Knowing, therefore, that Henry would be fully occupied, Gregory thought of bringing the rebellious archbishop to his knees by force.[3] But those on whom he relied failed him. Matilda could do no more than hold her own against the schismatics, and Guiscard was too much occupied with his designs against the Eastern Empire to be led into a war in north Italy.

Not to be thwarted, the Pope sent envoys into Lombardy to induce the clergy and the laity of Ravenna to elect a new archbishop.[4] This attempt was no more successful than the preceding one, so he himself nominated one Richard to replace the excommunicated Guibert.[5]

The battle on the Elster, Oct. 15, 1080.

Meanwhile the cause which Gregory advocated in Germany had been won and lost. On October 15 the forces of Henry and Rudolf met on the Elster by the marsh of Grona. Among the great prelates and nobles in the ranks of the former was Frederick of Hohenstaufen, to whom Henry had given the duchy of Suabia, and the hand of his daughter Agnes. The first and last heirs of the

[1] Guido, i. 20.

[2] Rangerius (p. 146) pungently asks:

"An quia *Clementem* te vocat impius ordo?
Sic Partas dicunt parcere quod nequeant."

[3] Ep. viii. 7, *c.* July 1080. "Partes illas (Ravenna) armata manu . . . petemus."

[4] Epp. viii. 12 and 13 of October 15, 1080.

[5] Ep. viii. 14, December 11. *Cf. L. P.*

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famous house of Hohenstaufen who have made their mark in history made it as enemies of the Papacy, and, it may be added, scored it against themselves.

The battle between the two armies was bloody and decisive. The troops of Henry were thoroughly worsted. But in the moment of victory, the brave Rudolf received a mortal wound.[1] His sorrowing followers buried him in the neighbouring cathedral of Merseburg, where his effigy, consisting of a "bronze plate in low relief, representing him in imperial attire," may still be seen. The inscription which they cut on his tomb proclaimed that "for him death was life, for he fell for the Church." "King Rudolf died and virtue was overwhelmed" is the sad wail of the poet.[2]

[1] Read the spirited description of this battle by Bruno (c. 121 ff.), who was present at it. *Cf.* Bernald, 1080. Both Bonizo and *Cod. Vat. A* (ap. Watterich, i. 338) relate that from the battle-field on which Rudolf perished so gloriously, "with all his wounds in front," Henry fled ignominiously.

[2] Rangerius, p. 112. Even the panegyrist of Henry, who pretends that he was victorious on the Elster, has only praise for Rudolf, "dux eximius, vir magnæ auctoritatis et laudis in toto regno, veri rectique tenax, fortis in armis, denique spectatus in omni genere virtutum." *Vita Heinrici*, c. 4.

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CHAPTER VIII.

HENRY IN ITALY; HE BESIEGES AND CAPTURES ROME. GREGORY IS RESCUED BY ROBERT GUISCARD; HIS DEATH.

THE very day on which the death of Rudolf freed Henry from fear in Germany, a defeat of the troops of Matilda near La Volta, in the territory of Mantua, freed him from anxiety as to his power in north Italy. Accordingly, full of hope of crushing Gregory forthwith,[1] he crossed the Brenner Pass at the end of March (1081), and pushed on to Verona (April 4). In leaving the Saxons behind him, he trusted that their difficulties in selecting a successor to Rudolf[2] would prevent any aggressive action on their part, even if, when left alone, they might feel disposed to take any. They had indeed declared to his envoys that they knew that his design was "to dishonour the apostolic dignity, and that he had promised them peace in order to be able to ill-use at his pleasure him who was their head"; and on their part they had let him know that if he should ill-treat the Pope, he would, on his return from Italy, find his affairs in a very different state from what he expected.[3]

Henry enters Italy, 1081.

The threats of the Saxons, however, failed to alarm Henry, for he felt assured that, with the hold he had on northern Italy, the capture of Rome and of the Pope would

[1] Bruno, c. 126.

[2] They had already refused his offer of making his son Conrad their king. Otho of Nordheim had replied that it was his experience that the calf of a vicious bull was itself vicious: "Sæpe ex bove malo malum vitulum vidi generatum." Bruno, c. 125.

[3] *Ib.*, c. 128.

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take neither time nor trouble, and that he would soon be back in Germany.

Gregory undaunted.

Gregory meanwhile remained utterly undaunted, whether by the death of Rudolf, by the defeat of Matilda, by the news that Henry was preparing to advance on Rome, or, hardest trial of all, by the faint-heartedness of those around him. On the arrival of the terrifying news of the death of Rudolf, almost all his advisers implored him to make peace with Henry. They pointed out to him that the king had always professed himself disposed to yield to him in many points, and that, if once Henry appeared in Italy, he need not hope that his allies in Germany would be of any use to him. But Gregory would hearken neither to their reasons nor their fears. He had had proof enough of Henry's faithlessness, and if, he said, he was left without German help, he cared not, for he reckoned nothing of his pride.[1] "It was more glorious to fight through long years for the liberty of holy Church, than to submit to a miserable and diabolical servitude."[2] For his own part, "he despised alike the threats of his enemies and their offers of service. He was prepared, if need be, to suffer death rather than approve of the impieties of the king and of the archbishop (*i.e.*, the antipope Guibert), or abandon the cause of justice."[3]

Henry again excommunicated, Feb. 1081.

Animated, accordingly, by what he believed a zeal for justice, Gregory at length, in synod, solemnly renewed against Henry the sentence of excommunication from which he had absolved him at Canossa.[4] Sentence was passed upon him as "a despiser of the law of Christ, a destroyer of churches and of the empire, and as an aider

[1] "Quod (German help) quidem si nobis, qui illius superbiam parvi pendimus, deficiat, non adeo grave videtur." Ep. viii. 26, *c.* beginning of April 1081, whence these particulars are drawn.

[2] *Ib.*

[3] Ep. viii. 34, written in April 1081.

[4] *Regist.*, viii. 20 *a*.

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and abettor of heretics."[1] Soon afterwards, to justify his action, he replied, by means of a very long letter[2] addressed to Heriman, bishop of Metz, "to those who foolishly maintain that an emperor cannot be excommunicated by the Roman Pontiff." He endeavoured to show, by Scripture, by the words of the Fathers, and by historical precedent, that the power of the successors of St. Peter extended to all Christians, without any exceptions whatsoever, and that that power had, as a matter of fact, been already frequently exercised even over kings. Adapting the words of St. Paul, he argued: "Know you not that we shall judge angels? how much more things of this world."[3] After he had thus taken against Henry those steps which his ideas of duty seemed to require, Gregory calmly awaited the march of events, which, however, were destined to advance further than he anticipated.

Gregory strives (*a*) to rouse his friends.

Though, even after Henry had descended into the Lombard plain, Gregory did not believe he would be able to march on Rome, and though he cared not for himself, he was anxious about the position of the Countess Matilda. Hence he wrote to his friends in Germany to urge them to action should Henry make any serious attempt on her. They were to rouse Welf, duke of Bavaria, and to proceed to the election of a new king in place of Rudolf. They were not, however, to be in any haste about the latter matter, and were to be sure of electing one who would have the necessary qualities to make a good king. They were also to see to it that the object of their choice would undertake on oath to respect the spiritual and temporal rights of the Church.[4] Finally,

[1] Ep. viii. 21. [2] Ep. viii. 21, March 15, 1081. [3] 1 Cor. vi. 3.

[4] Ep. viii. 26. This letter contains the substance of the oath to be taken by the new king. "Fidelis ero *per rectam fidem* . . . Pape Gregorio. . . . De ordinatione ecclesiarum, et de terris vel censu

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owing to the difficulties of the times, they were to temper for the present the rigour of the canons in regard to the clergy.[1]

And (*b*) to gain the aid of Guiscard.

Working as usual through the Abbot Desiderius, he made great efforts to secure the active support of Robert Guiscard, should Henry make any hostile attempt on Rome. He was quite alive to the fact that the wily Norman cared but little for the interests of any other person than Robert Guiscard; and he knew that he was at the moment making preparations for the carrying out of no less ambitious an undertaking than the conquest of the Byzantine Empire.

Robert's little daughter, Helena, had been sent to Constantinople and been betrothed (1075–1076) to the child Constantine, the heir of the Emperor Michael VII., Ducas. The reign of Michael, however, had been brought to an abrupt close by the aged Nicephorus Botoniates (April 1, 1078), and he had himself been incarcerated in the famous monastery of Studion. Guiscard seized the opportunity of the injury done to the interests of his daughter to prepare for the conquest of the Eastern Empire. To improve his chances of success, he caused to appear in his court at Salerno a monk who gave himself out to be the deposed emperor, and he appealed for the support of the Pope. This Gregory was ready to give, as he had already excommunicated Nicephorus for having unjustly deprived his friend Michael of his throne[2] (November 1078). Accordingly, he bade the bishops of Apulia and Calabria exhort those who had taken up arms in Michael's favour to be loyal and steadfast, and absolve from their sins such among them as did true penance.[3]

quæ Constantinus imperator vel Carolus S. Petro dederunt, . . . ita conveniam cum papa, ut periculum sacrilegii . . . non incurram."

[1] With viii. 26, *cf.* viii. 33.

[2] With vi. 5 *b*, *cf.* viii. 6. Bowden, ii. 237.

[3] VIII. 6, July 25, 1080.

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Strong in the approval of the Pope, it mattered not to Guiscard that his monk was subsequently proved to be an impostor, and that his enemy Nicephorus was himself overthrown by Alexius Comnenus (April 1081). His plans were now matured; and if he would not allow himself to be gained over by Henry,[1] he would not hearken to Gregory's appeals to stop and help him against the German king. However, before he set sail to Aulon (Vallona), towards the end of May, he instructed his young son Roger, whom he had left regent in his absence, to render what aid he could to the Pope, should necessity arise.[2]

Henry advances on Rome, May 1081.

Reckoning nothing of any assistance which a youth and the handful of Normans whom Guiscard had left behind him might bring to Gregory, Henry raised troops in Ravenna and the March of Ancona,[3] and moved southwards, ravaging the territory of Matilda as he went along.[4] His forces arrived in sight of Rome about the same time as those of Guiscard were setting sail for the East (viz., May 21, 1081).[5]

[1] Ep. viii. 34; Anna, *Alex.*, i. 13; and William of Apulia, who tells how Henry asked Guiscard:

". . . Ut conferat illi
Auxilium contra papam tumidosque quirites."

L. iv., v. 171 ff.

[2] "Hos (Roger and his advisers) rogat ut *papæ* solatia si
qua valebunt
Non adhibere negent."

William, *l.c.* *Cf.* Anna, *l.c.*

On Guiscard and the East, see Chalandon, *Alexis*, p. 62 ff.; Barlow, *The Normans*, cc. 8 and 9.

[3] Ep. viii. 34.

[4] "Per loca se fundit, quæ Comitissa tenet,
Quanta potest vastat, incendit, depopulatur,
Et Christi famulam debilitare sitit."

Rangerius, p. 123. *Cf.* Donizo, and *vit. S. Anselmi*, p. 915.

[5] Benzo, l. vi.; Bonizo, l. ix., and *Cod. Vat. A*, both ap. Watterich, i. p. 339.

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The Romans resist him.

To Henry's profound disappointment, the Romans set at naught both his manifestoes[1] and his soldiers. For once, a Pope could write with confidence: "The Romans and all those who surround me are full of faith and the spirit of God, and ready to serve me in everything."[2] Unable to carry the city by assault, Henry had to yield to the heats of summer, and to return "with his beast," as Bonizo calls the antipope, to the north of Italy.

Henry raises the siege and prepares for a fresh attack.

Meanwhile, with a view to weakening the power of Matilda, Henry took a step which, though of the first importance for the development of Italy, was destined to recoil on the empire. By granting charters of liberties to some of her more important cities, like Lucca, he succeeded in further crippling the resources of Matilda, but he helped onward the formation of those communes of Italy which were ultimately to put an end to Germanic influence in the peninsula.[3] He had already somewhat hampered her by seizing such of her property as he could lay his hands upon, on the plea that she had been guilty of high treason.[4]

Election of Hermann as successor of Rudolf.

Soon after Henry had been compelled to raise the siege of Rome, he received another blow through the election of a successor to Rudolf. As the result of an appeal by the Saxons to the whole German people to elect a new king,

[1] Ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Bamb.*, p. 138. [2] Ep. viii. 34.

[3] Delarc, iii. 569; Sismondi, *History of the Italian Republics*, p. 68, ed. Boulting, London, 1906.

[4] *Cf.* Henry's diploma (June 1, 1083) in favour of the Church of Verdun, ap. Stump-Brentano, *Kaiserkunden des X., XI., und XII. Jahrhunderts*, n. 2883. It gives to the bishop of Verdun "prædia . . . quæ comitissæ Mathildis fuerant, et in potestatem nostram seu proprietatem lege et judiciario jure pervenerunt," and others already made over to him, "antequam comitissa Mathildis rea fuisset majestatis imperialis." *Cf.* Parisot, *Les origines de la Haute-Lorraine*, p. 178, Paris, 1909, whence this quotation is taken.

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other than Henry or his son, who should unite them all together again,[1] there was elected at Ochensfurt on the Main, Hermann, a scion, rich but indifferent, of the house of Luxembourg.

But these disadvantages were more than compensated by the success of his negotiations with the new Greek emperor Alexius. Anxious to secure allies against Guiscard, Alexius had written to different Western princes, to the Pope among others, promising them money if they would attack Robert. But his main reliance was not unnaturally on Henry, who, as we have said, had already been in negotiation with him for an alliance against the Norman. To him he sent nearly 150,000 golden solidi, besides other presents, with a promise of a still larger sum when he should be in south Italy.[2] With his credit restored in this way, Henry spent the winter in raising an army which was to be strong enough to lay formal siege to Rome.

Towards the close of March Henry was again before the walls of Rome, and again did the Romans despise alike his words[3] and his arms; so that, despite his success in gaining

Henry again fails to take Rome, 1082.

[1] "Principes Saxoniæ cunctis gentibus Theutonicæ linguæ, legatos miserunt, rogantes, ut Heinrico filioque ejus excepto, quemlibet alium rectorem eligerant . . . quatenus omnia regni membra, sicut olim fuerant, in unum sub uno rege convenirent." Bruno, c. 130.

[2] Anna, iii. 10. The amiable daughter of Alexius, woman-like, was not at all averse to letting her tongue run on in advance of her intellect. Hence, though she speaks of Gregory as having "a considerable magistracy," and as "fenced about with all sorts of armaments" (Barlow's translation), she does not hesitate, when it suits her, to describe him as "fit to be spat upon." *Alex.*, i. 13. *Cf. Essai de Chronographie Byzantine*, n. 23, an. 1081, by E. de Muralt, St. Petersburg, 1071.

[3] See his proclamation "to all the cardinals, and to all the clergy and laity of Rome," in which he calls on Gregory to submit his cause to a general assembly. *Mon. Bamb.*, p. 498. In speaking of this siege, Bernald (*Chron.*, 1082) tells of Gregory's stopping a conflagration by making the sign of the cross over it.

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over to his cause Jordan, prince of Capua, a nephew of Guiscard and liegeman of the Pope,[1] he was once more compelled to abandon the siege. But though Desiderius of Monte Cassino pointed out to him that quarrels of the kind in which he was now engaged with the Pope "would be fatal to the empire and to the Papacy alike,"[2] and though he reminded his bishops that "the Apostolic See was mistress, subject to none and above all,"[3] neither Henry nor his prelates had any thought of giving up the struggle.

When, after his second failure to capture the city, the king returned to Lombardy (May), he left his antipope behind him at Tivoli. From this centre Clement ceased not to ravage the whole district, destroying both crops and people alike.[4]

Guiscard returns to Italy, 1082.

But his depredations were at length partially checked by the return to Italy of Robert Guiscard. In the midst of a victorious career in Greece, he received a letter from the Pope congratulating him on his successes, but calling on him for help against Henry.[5] That which probably[6] still more affected Robert was the news he received of Jordan's alliance with the Germans, and the spirit of rebellion

[1] *Chron. Cas.*, iii. 50.

[2] *Ib.* He wrote, "Neque Regnum neque Sacerdotium in tanto dissidio incolume posse consistere."

[3] *Ib.*

[4] Bonizo, l. ix.; *Cod. Vat. A*; and Bernald, 1082.

[5] Ep. viii. 40. The Pope concludes by saying that he has not attached his seal to the letter, lest his enemies might seize the letter, and use the seal to perpetrate a forgery, as, indeed, Henry did later. "Heinricus . . . furto subripuit sygillum D. P. Gregorii," etc. *Cf.* a letter of Matilda, ap. Hugh of Flavigny, *Chron.*, ii. p. 335.

[6] Malaterra, indeed (*Hist.*, iii. 32), asserts that the one reason which induced Robert to leave Greece was the trouble of his suzerain "sub quo omnia quæ habebat possidere se cognoscebat." He decided to put aside his own concerns and "S. Dei Ecclesiæ vel domini sui necessitatibus inservire."

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against his authority which was manifesting itself all over the south of Italy. Accordingly, leaving his son Bohemond in charge of his army in Greece, he returned to Italy (April 1082).[1] Without troops, and with many against him, Robert was unable for some time to give any effectual help to anyone but himself. He made, however, some demonstration in force before Rome and Tivoli, which was not without good result for Gregory's cause.[2] But he was unable to render him any substantial assistance.

Gregory feels the stress of the siege.

By the beginning of the new year (1083) the critical nature of his position was being steadily impressed upon Gregory. In December (1082) Henry had brought up fresh troops for the siege of Rome,[3] though he himself did not then remain before it. Moreover, Gregory had heard that Hermann of Luxembourg, who had spent the previous twelve months in preparing to come to his relief and had left Saxony to do so, had been compelled to return thither by the death of his chief supporter, Otho of Nordheim.[4] He had himself failed to raise money, without which he knew the unwonted loyalty already displayed by the venal Romans could not be maintained. A Roman council (May 1082), evidently only half-hearted in the cause of their master, had declared that the goods of the Church ought not to be alienated for military purposes.[5] Certainly, in pleasing contrast to this traitorous conduct of many of

[1] *Cf.* Malaterra, *Hist.*, iii. 32. "Guiscardus . . . anno 1082, a Romanæ sedis apostolico viro Gregorio litteris continentibus angustiam suam acceptis, ut in adjutorium S. Rom. Ecclesiæ reditum acceleret, multis precibus cohortatur." *Cf.* William of Apulia, l. iv., p. 1074; and Chalandon, *Alexis*, p. 84 and n. 7.

[2] Lupus, *Chron.*, 1082; Romuald of Salerno, 1082.

[3] Landulf, *Hist.*, iv. 2.

[4] "Hermannus autem rex multum de adversitate sedis apostolicæ dolens," etc. Bernald, ann. 1082 and 1083.

[5] "Conventus Romanus," ap. Watterich, i. 452.

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the local clergy was the action of his supporters in Tuscany. Abbot Gerard of Canossa melted down the gold and silver of his church to send money to Gregory,[1] and the faithful and warlike (*bellipotens*, as Rangerius calls her) Matilda sent him what pecuniary assistance she could.[2] But it was not much that he received from these sources. Still his courage did not desert him. Addressing all the bishops, abbots, clergy, and laymen "who were faithful to the Apostolic See," he exhorted them to patience, fortitude, and hope. "We all wish," he wrote, "that the ungodly should repent; . . . we all seek that the holy Church, now trampled down throughout the world . . . may be restored to her pristine comeliness and strength; we all labour that God may be glorified in us. . . . Marvel not, dearest brethren, if the world hate you, for we ourselves irritate it against us, while we set ourselves against its lusts. . . . Rouse yourselves, then, and be strong. Conceive a lively hope."[3]

One source of consolation he had at this time. It was the presence in Rome of the saintly Bruno of Segni, who, under circumstances very similar to those in which Gregory the Great executed a like task, wrote a commentary on Isaias, and again, like that Pontiff, tinged it with the historical colouring of his time.[4]

Henry again before Rome, 1083.

In April 1083 Henry joined his troops in front of Rome, and in June managed to surprise the Leonine city, failing, however, to seize the city proper.[5] To a fresh excom-

[1] "Donizonis *codex Canusinus autographus*," ap. Watterich, *l.c.*

[2] Donizo, ii. c. 2, *sub fin.*

[3] Ep. viii. 44 (ix. 21) of 1082. Bowden's translation.

[4] *Cf.* Prior Amelli, *S. Bruno de Segni*, Tipog. di Montecassino, 1903. This pamphlet shows that the commentary on Isaias, discovered in 1897, and published in vol. iii. of the *Spicileg. Casinense*, was written by S. Bruno in 1082–1083.

[5] Ekkehard, 1083; *Ann. Augustani*, 1083; Landulf, iv. 2; *Ann. Benevent.*, 1083.

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munication launched against him by the intrepid Pope,[1] he replied by causing his antipope to be crowned in St. Peter's.[2] His success made many of the Romans, already weary of being so often in a state of siege, or always well disposed towards him, anxious for peace.[3] Through the action of this party there was devised yet another scheme to bring about a definite settlement of the respective claims of the Pope and the king. Gregory was to summon a council which should go thoroughly into all the matters in dispute, while Henry was to engage not to place any obstacle in the way of the proper transaction of its business.[4] A section of the Romans, moreover, who had been gained over by money or promises,[5] added a secret clause to the treaty. Giving hostages to Henry, they engaged, on his return to the city in the winter, to have him crowned by Gregory, if he were alive or had not fled from the city. But if he were to die, or to leave Rome, they would with the king elect a new Pope, whom they would induce to crown him.[6]

Henry leaves Rome, and Gregory summons a council, 1083.

Leaving a small garrison to hold the Leonine city, Henry again went north to avoid the summer heats (July), and the Pope issued summonses to the synod which was "to put an end to the strife between the empire and the Apostolic See."[7] But the faithless monarch could not

[1] Bernald, 1084. Gregory repeats the excommunication at Salerno "quod et in festivitate S. Johannis Baptistæ præterita (June 24, 1083) jam dudum Romæ fecit, cum Heinricus adhuc ibi moraretur."

[2] Bernald, 1083; *Ann. Augustani*, 1083.

[3] "Omnes autem æqualiter jam trienni impugnatione nimium fatigati." Bernald, *l.c.*

[4] Bernald, *ib.* *Cf.* Waltram, *De unitate*, ii. 7.

[5] "Multi ex Romanis Heinrico consenserant, partim pretio inducti, partim multis promissionibus seducti." Bernald, *ib.* *Cf.* Landulf, iv. 3.

[6] With Ekkehard and Bernald, 1083, *cf.* the oath taken to Henry by the traitors, ap. *M. G. SS.*, viii. 461, quoted by Delarc, iii. 590. It is not easy, from different and meagre annalists, to arrive at a clear understanding of these negotiations.

[7] Ep. coll. 23. *Cf.* viii. 51.

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keep his word. He seized the envoys of Herimann as they were coming to the synod, and detained many important bishops and abbots who had set out from France and other countries to obey the Pope's orders.[1] He is even said to have put some of the captured monks to the torture.[2] It was, however, a real annoyance to him that one of his militant bishops seized his godfather, Hugh of Cluny, who had been called to Rome by the Pope to make peace between him and Henry.[3]

The Lateran synod.

Owing to the action of the king, the council over which Gregory presided on November 20 and the two following days was not a numerous one, and was unable to bring about peace. Moved by the wishes of the assembled Fathers, Gregory did not again excommunicate Henry by name, but contented himself with excommunicating all such as had interfered with those who were coming to the council. And on the third day of the synod, addressing it, "with the face rather of an angel than of a man," on the Christian life and on the constancy of mind so needful at the moment, "he moved almost the whole assembly to tears."[4]

Henry returns to Rome.

There was, therefore, no other way of settling the quarrel but by the sword. But when Henry returned to Rome (December), and called on the Roman nobles to abide by their word, and by entreaties or force to make Gregory crown him, he found their minds had changed. His garrison had nearly all perished by fever, and Robert

[1] Bernald, 1083.

[2] "Quos (monks and clerics) in captione fecit cruciari." Bernald, *l.c.*

[3] Raynald's *vita Hugonis*, c. 4, ap. *P. L.*, t. 159. Blamed by Henry for making an effort to visit the Pope, "a mere mortal," before going to the shrine of the apostles, the abbot replied that he thought it easier to get pardon of the apostles than secure the good graces "of a severe Pope." *Cf.* L'Huillier, *Vie de S. Hugues*, p. 317 ff.

[4] The acts of the synod ap. *Reg.*, viii. 58 *a*, and Bernald, *l.c.*

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Guiscard had put the Pope in possession of money.[1] They accordingly informed the king that Gregory had declared that he would only crown him if he made satisfaction for his faults;[2] and they added sarcastically, on their own account, that if he was not prepared to do this, they would still keep their word by causing the Pope, with a curse, to drop the crown on his head by means of a stick from the walls of the castle of St. Angelo.[3]

Henry master of Rome, 1084.

With greater zest than ever Henry devoted himself to the siege. Fortunately for himself, he received, in the beginning of 1084, the further sums of money which Alexius had promised him.[4] With these, after he had made a show in February of a campaign against the Normans to satisfy the Greek emperor, he bribed the Romans.[5] And just when, as he wrote himself,[6] he had given up all hopes of capturing the city, the Romans made overtures to him, and admitted him within their walls on March 21, 1084.[7] Had they been able to forecast the result to Rome of their action, they would have cut off their hands rather than have allowed them to open the gates of St. John to the German. They had signed the death warrant of old Rome!

Gregory retires to the castle of St. Angelo.

When Henry entered Rome, Gregory retreated to the castle of St. Angelo, carrying with him forty hostages

[1] Bernald and Lupus, 1083.

[2] Bonizo and *Cod. Vat. A*, ap. Watterich, i. 341. [3] Bernald, *l.c.*

[4] Bernald, 1084. *Cf.* Ekkehard, 1083, and Muralt, *Essai*, p. 51, n. 8. *Cf. supra*, p. 151.

[5] "Heinricus acceptam pecuniam non in procinctum supra Roubertum, quod juramento promisit, set ad conciliandum sibi vulgus Romanum expendit." Bernald, 1084. A fragment of the *Ann. Ratisbon. maj.*, 1084, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xiii. p. 48, says that he also got money for the Italians from heavy taxes on his German subjects.

[6] His letter to Theodoric of Verdun, ap. *Gesta Trever; contin.*, c. 12, ap. *P. L.*, t. 154.

[7] Bernald, *l.c.*, and Ekkehard, 1084.

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given him by the nobles. On this occasion most of them remained faithful to the Pope, and, holding many points of vantage throughout the city, carried on a terrible street war for over two months. Rusticus, a nephew of Gregory, held the Septizonium of Severus at the south corner of the Palatine Hill; the Frangipani were safe in the Turris Cartularia by the Arch of Titus; the Corsi dominated the Capitol, and papal troops held the bridges.[1]

Election of *Clement III.* and the coronation of Henry.

Evidently not feeling too secure of his position, Henry hurried on the formal election of his antipope and his own coronation. Whilst the beautiful columns of the Septizonium were falling beneath his battering-rams,[2] and his troops were storming the Capitol, he held some kind of a synod in the Lateran Palace (March 22). Gregory was declared deposed, and Guibert elected in his place as Clement III.; but not, as Henry falsely wrote,[3] by *all*[4] the cardinals and the Roman people. On the following Sunday (Palm Sunday, March 24), Clement was consecrated by three excommunicated bishops,[5] and on Easter Sunday crowned Henry and Bertha as emperor and empress of the Romans.[6]

[1] *L. P.* "Romani malam quam habuerant a principio consuetudinem perficere, ut prius cœperunt, castrum undique muris obseraverunt," etc. *Cf.* Bernald, *l.c.* "Omnesque Tiberinos pontes et firmiores Romanorum munitiones in sua obtinuit potestate."

[2] "Dehinc Septem solia . . . obsidere cum multis machinationibus attemptavit, de quibus quam plurimas columnas subvertit." *L. P.*

[3] See his letter just quoted. *Cf.* Benzo, l. vii. prolog. "Remoto igitur noctis filio, elevatur Ravennas filius lucis."

[4] Beno (*Gesta*, i. 1) has given us the names of those who deserted the cause of Gregory. The *Annales Cavenses*, 1083, ap. *M. G. SS.*, iii., state that Guibert was elected "absque consilio et voluntate totius Rom. Ecclesiæ."

[5] Bernald, *l.c.*; Deusdedit, *Libellus contra invas.*, ii. 11, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, ii.; Bonizo, etc.

[6] *Ann. Augustani*, Ekkehard, Bernald, etc., 1084. *Cf. vit. Heinrici*, c. 6, where the reader will find much that is false regarding these events.

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The ceremonies of Henry's coronation.

Benzo has furnished[1] us with a description of the rites of the coronation of an emperor in vogue at the time, which he would fain have us believe were carried out at this coronation of his hero, who, "in intelligence, might, and arms" surpassed all the ancients and the moderns.[2] He depicts the royal procession making its way to St. Peter's, preceded by the holy cross (*gravida ligni dominici*) and the lance of St. Maurice. After them came the clergy, and then the king clad in a long scarlet tunic or alb, wonderfully set out with gold and gems, and "terrible with his golden spurs," girt with his sword, covered with the distinctly imperial garment, the Frisian cloak (*Frisia clamide*), and wearing linen gloves and an episcopal ring, and with the imperial diadem on his head. In his left hand he carried the orb (*pomum*), and in his right the sceptre "de more Julii, Octaviani," etc.

Supported by the Pope (Clement III.), by the archbishop of Milan, and by dukes and nobles, he was followed by five magistrates wearing variegated cloaks and patrician crowns.

When the procession started the clergy intoned, "Jam bone pastor," the Germans adding, "Kyrrie eleyson, helfo (help), S. Petre heleyson." Meanwhile the different nations who were looking on cheered according to the mode of their respective countries.

Mass was begun after the procession, and, "in accordance with the canons," Henry was consecrated and blessed before the Gospel. After Mass was over, the new emperor adjourned to the palace for refreshment.

After the banquet, the emperor was vested in a green cloak, and a white mitre with the patrician circlet around it was set upon his head. In this style he proceeded to Vespers, and "again their voices knock at the gate of

[1] *Ad Heinric. IV. imp.*, i. cc. 8–13, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xi. [2] *Ib.*, vi. 7.

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heaven to the glory of Him who reigns for ever and ever."

On the following day the Pope put "the Roman crown" solemnly upon the head of Henry, who then, "crowned by the will of God and the prayer of St. Peter," was received "by the senate" at the steps of the basilica in which he had been crowned. Mounting on horseback, the emperor, surrounded by German, Roman, and Lombard knights, went "by the triumphal way" to the Lateran. All along the route he was greeted with joyful song (*Romanis cantilenis*). In front of the Lateran the emperor was met by the scholæ of the *sixteen* regions. Mass was then celebrated, and cries of Alleluia resounded everywhere.[1]

This description of an imperial coronation, though quaint, is, like everything else that Benzo wrote, inaccurate; and, in any case, considering the disturbed condition of the city, it is wholly improbable that anything like such an elaborate ceremonial was employed for the coronation of Henry IV. by his antipope Clement III.

Gregory appeals to Guiscard.

Henry now devoted himself to the task of securing the person of his enemy the Pope. With this end in view he began to enclose St. Angelo within lines of circumvallation.[2] "An emperor," says Gregorovius,[3] "now besieged a Pope who defended the freedom of the Church against the temporal power." Realising there was no time to be lost, Gregory contrived to dispatch an embassy to Guiscard, imploring his assistance.[4] When Robert received the

[1] Benzo goes on to narrate the other places visited by the emperor in state, and says that the emperor and Pope spent the last three days of the week in making various regulations regarding Church and State.

[2] "Et putat obductum carcere Gregorium
Obsidione locum vallat, crebrisque fatigat
Ictibus, et saxis rumpere saxa jubet."
Rangerius, p. 198.

[3] *Rome*, iv. pt. i. p. 242.

[4] *Cod. Vat. A*, p. 342; Hugh of Flavigny, *Chron.*, ii. p. 334.

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Pope's message, he had already not only subdued the rebellious spirits of his duchy, but had gathered together a powerful army, including even Saracens from Sicily, and was about to embark for the East.[1] Comprehending at once how dangerous for himself it would be if Henry should succeed in seizing both Rome and the Pope, he straightway set his troops on the march for the Eternal City.

The Normans free the Pope.

Word of his movements was at once sent both to Gregory and to the king by Desiderius of Monte Cassino. His messenger was promptly followed by one from Guiscard himself to Henry, who was bluntly informed that "if he did not leave Rome of his own accord, he would be driven from it, and that there was no one who could pluck him from his hands."[2] Never distinguished by being willing to face fearful odds, Henry informed the Romans that he found it necessary to withdraw to Lombardy, and that he entrusted his crown and his honour to their hands.[3] Then, levelling the Leonine City to the ground,[4] he hastened north (May 21),[5] leaving his antipope at Tivoli.

Six days after his departure the army of Guiscard was descried from the walls of Rome. It approached the city with due care. First came a thousand picked men, then three thousand, and lastly Guiscard himself with the main body. Meeting with no opposition, he encamped opposite the Porta Asinaria (now replaced by the Porta S. Giovanni), near the Claudian aqueduct. On the following day[6]

[1] "Forte classe instructa mare transire parabat." Hugh, *l.c.*

[2] *L. P.* *Cf. Chron. Cas.*, iii. 53; Guido, i. 20.

[3] *L. P.*; Bonizo; and *Cod. Vat. A*, p. 342. "Dissimulans . . . ducis Roberti adventum nescire."

[4] "Civitatem S. Petri . . . funditus destruxit." Bonizo.

[5] *Ann. Cavenses*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, iii. Many ascribed his retreat to fear. "Quod alii metu pugnæ, alii formidine temporis accidisse putarunt." Guido, *l.c.*

[6] On this point both Bonizo and Guido agree. *Cf.* also Delarc, iii. 606 n.; Watterich, i. 293 n.

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(Tuesday, May 28) he ordered a general assault, and, while some of his troops stormed the gate of St. Laurence,[1] others entered by the Flaminian and Pincian gates, which had been thrown open to them. With the formidable cry of "Guiscard" on their lips, the Normans made a dash for the bridge and castle of St. Angelo, some of the less disciplined among them pausing to sack the churches of S. Lorenzo in Lucina and S. Silvestro in the Campus Martius. Gregory was released from his confinement, and on the following day was escorted with all the pomp and circumstance of war to the Lateran Palace.[2]

Had the coming of the Normans been attended with no worse results than these, all would have been well for Gregory. But their subsequent action was to destroy his influence with the Romans for ever. Three days after Guiscard's entry into the city, in consequence of a quarrel into which the Romans entered either of set purpose[3] or accidentally,[4] a terrible fight took place between them and the Normans. Unable to drive the Romans out of the narrow streets, Guiscard acted on the advice of the consul Cencius,[5] and fired the houses. Driven forth by the flames, the wretched inhabitants fell on the swords and spears of their enemies. Intoxicated by carnage, and furious at the death of their comrades, the soldiers of Guiscard gave themselves up to the most unbridled licence. They slaughtered all the men they met, and violated the women, even virgins consecrated to God. When wearied of

[1] Malaterra, iii. 36, whence many of these details are taken.

[2] *Vit. S. Anselmi*, p. 916 f. The Normans, whom Benzo politely calls, "fetidissima stercora mundi" (iii. 1), could at least fight.

[3] Malaterra, *l.c.* "Romani viribus resumptis, *conspiratione facta*, . . . super nostros irruere conantur."

[4] Bernald, 1084.

[5] "Ex consilio Cencii Romanorum consulis ignem in Urbem immisit." *Chron. Cas.*, iii. 53.

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killing, they devoted themselves to plundering and to making captives. These they sold as slaves, "like Jews."[1] Guiscard was unwilling to check the excesses of his troops. He is reported to have said: "The citizens of Rome are worthless traitors; they are and always will be ungrateful to God and His saints for the innumerable benefits conferred upon them. . . . I will give the blood-stained city to the flames, and, by God's help, I will restore it to a better condition, and fill it with inhabitants from the Transalpine nations."[2] Three days elapsed before Gregory could prevail upon the savage duke to bring his men to order,[3] and stop the conflagration which was destroying the city.

The destruction of Rome.

Terrible was the damage done to old Rome by this sack of 1084. The flames consumed everything between St. John Lateran's and the Colisseum.[4] Other parts of the city also suffered. Guiscard completed the destruction which Henry had begun, and which, according to his biographer, money only had prevented from completing himself.[5] The whole appearance of the city was changed. "Even after the lapse of so many centuries," writes Lanciani,[6] "we can still find traces of this Norman-Saracenic

[1] *L. P.*; Bonizo; and *Cod. Vat. A*, pp. 342–343; Guido, i. 20; Landulf, iv. 3. Bonizo says they deserved to be treated like the Jews, because, like them, they betrayed their shepherd.

[2] Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. E.*, vii. 7. *Cf.* Malaterra's denunciation of Rome, iii. 37: "Cuncta sunt venalia. Per te ruit sacer ordo."

[3] *Ib.* The Norman chronicler Ordericus is here probably accurate in his main facts, if not in their details.

[4] "Regiones illas circa Lateranum et Coloseum positas igne comburere." *L. P. Cf. Cod. Vat. A*, p. 343. The other authorities only use general terms; *e.g.*, Malaterra, *l.c.*: "Urbs maxima ex parte incendio consumitur." *Cf. Ann. Benevent.*, 1084, ap. *M. G. SS.*, iii.

[5] *Vit. Heinrici*, c. 6. "Ingenti pecunia apud regem vix optinuit (Roma), ne tota subverteretur."

[6] *The Destruction of Ancient Rome*, pp. 162, 166. Still, we must be careful not to form an exaggerated idea of the destruction wrought by

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invasion. The Cælian quarter as a whole has never recovered from the state of desolation to which it was reduced in 1084. The few roads which traverse this silent region are practically the same as those through which Gregory VII. had been hurried from the castle of St. Angelo to the Lateran; only their present level is higher, the layer of *débris* from the burnt edifices having considerably raised the level of the whole district. . . . The final decay of the city—the abandonment of the old level of streets and squares, the disappearance of the remains of private houses, and even of some public edifices—dates from this fearful conflagration." With the altered physical aspect of Rome we may connect the changed position of the Papacy. At the time when the Eternal City lost its old-world look, the Popes were becoming the pivot on which medieval Europe was to turn not only in the spiritual order, but also in the temporal.

Submission of the Romans.

Thoroughly cowed by the fearful blows which Guiscard had dealt them, the Romans submitted to their conqueror unconditionally. After he had secured in the castle of St. Angelo the hostages whom they gave him, Guiscard left Rome with the Pope to bring back to his allegiance the surrounding localities. Sutri and Nepi and other places were soon subdued;[1] but, anxious to resume his eastern campaign, Guiscard would not stay long enough to drive

Guiscard, for Hildebert of Lavardin, who visited Rome in the beginning of the twelfth century, could sing:—

"Par tibi, Roma, nihil, cum sis prope tota ruina
Quam magni fueris integra, fracta doces," etc.

Ap. Hauréau, *Notice sur les mélanges poét. d'Hildebert*, p. 321. *Cf.* another poem of his on Rome, *ib.*, p. 334. "Major sum pauper divite, stante jacens." And we have elsewhere noticed the terrible havoc wrought by other fires in this century of which Lanciani does not appear to have taken notice.

[1] Bernald, 1084. *Cf.* the letter of Matilda ap. Hugh of Flavigny, *Chron.*, ii. 335; Jaffé, 5273.

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the antipope from Tivoli.[1] When, therefore, the Norman escorted Gregory back to Rome at the end of June, it did not seem possible for him to remain there. Clement was close at hand; and, unmindful that the real author of their cruel woes was Henry, the Romans, assigning them all to Gregory, because he had summoned the Normans, hated him accordingly.[2]

Gregory leaves Rome, and holds a council at Salerno, 1084.

Bowing before the storm, Gregory, in the deepest poverty,[3] left Rome with Guiscard in the beginning of July; and in his company, halting at Monte Cassino and Benevento, reached Salerno, where he was soon to die. Meanwhile, however, with spirit still unsubdued, he gathered together what bishops he could. Once more he excommunicated Henry, Guibert, and their adherents, and dispatched his legates to promulgate his sentence through France and Germany.[4] At the same time he issued, "to all the faithful who truly love the Apostolic See," what is justly regarded as the finest of his encyclicals. The princes, he said, have united against the Lord and against His Christ because we have been unwilling to keep silent when the Church was in danger, and give way to those who would reduce it to servitude vile. "Come," he cried, "to the succour of your father and mother, if by them you would have forgiveness of your sins, and all blessings in this life and in the next."[5]

Untoward events for the cause of Gregory, 1084–1085.

Not only, however, was no help for the afflicted Pontiff forthcoming, but one untoward event after another was to bring his grey hairs with sorrow to the grave. If he was gladdened by the victory which in July Matilda gained at

[1] Guido, *l.c.*

[2] "Quibus ludibriis (the doings of the Normans and Saracens) populus Romanus offensus, conflavit in Ildebrandum inexorabile odium." Guido, i. 20.

[3] Till the end of his life, he and his suite had to be supported by Desiderius of Monte Cassino. *Chron. Cas.*, iii. 53.

[4] Bernald, *l.c.*

[5] Ep. coll. 46.

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Sorbaria over Henry's troops,[1] he was saddened by the departure of Guiscard for the East in September,[2] and by the fact that the antipope was by Christmas in possession of Rome.[3] He was, moreover, much distressed by a fresh outbreak of war in Germany, to which Henry had returned before the close of the year 1084. The struggle was carried on with spiritual as well as with earthly weapons. Under the presidency of the uncompromising Otho, cardinal-bishop of Ostia,[4] who had been sent to Germany by Gregory to promulgate the fact of Henry's renewed excommunication, a synod was held at Quedlinburg (April 1085). King Hermann, along with a large number of Saxon bishops and nobles, was present at it. Putting forth the principle that no one has a right to judge the sentence of the Sovereign Pontiff,[5] Otho led the assembly to declare Henry's nominations to bishoprics null and void, and to anathematise the antipope and his adherents. Further, with an independence which cannot be too much admired, he did not hesitate to denounce both Hermann himself, because it was said that he had married within the forbidden degrees of kindred, and some of the Saxon nobles who during the war had appropriated the goods of the Church. About the same time the episcopal and other partisans of Henry assembled at Mainz, and in turn did not hesitate to act towards Gregory as the council of Quedlinburg had acted towards Clement[6] (May).

[1] Donizo, l. ii. c. 3; Bernald, 1084, etc. [2] Muralt, *Chronog.*, p. 55.
[3] *Annalista Saxo*, 1084. [4] Afterwards Urban II.
[5] When a partisan of Henry ventured to contradict this assertion, a layman reminded him that "the disciple is not above his master" (St. Matt. x. 21). "Prolata sunt in medium decreta SS. Patrum de primatu sedis apostolicæ, quod nulli umquam liceat ejus judicium retractare, vel de ejus judicio judicare." Bernald, 1085. The decrees regarding clerical celibacy were also renewed at this council.
[6] Bernald and Ebbehard, 1085. *Cf. Ann. S. Disibodi*, 1085, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvii. 9. But according even to Sigebert of Gemblours

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Death of Gregory.

But the noise of the fierce strife over his principles which was ringing throughout the whole empire was now making but a feeble impression upon Gregory. Already, in January, he had declared that he would die about the beginning of June.[1] Nevertheless, he ceased not "to work for justice,"[2] and spent much time in preaching to the people.[3] At length, however, he could toil no longer; he could no more "think of many things, and give his attention to affairs of moment."[4] But great as had been his labours for God and man, he took no complacency in them when congratulated on them. "I have," he said to the cardinals who surrounded his death-bed, "only one source of consolation. I have ever loved justice and hated iniquity." When they next expressed to him their fears as to what would happen to them after he had been taken from them, he raised his hands and eyes to heaven, saying: "I am going thither, and there, with earnest entreaty, will I commend you to the God of mercy."[5]

Asked to name his successor in view of the special difficulties of the times, he mentioned three or four names,[6] but recommended that Desiderius of Monte Cassino should be selected on account of his being at hand. And when questioned with regard to those he had excommunicated, he replied that, with the exception of Henry, Guibert, and their principal supporters, he absolved and blessed all those who firmly believed that, in the place of the apostles

(*Chron.*, 1085), some who voted against Gregory favoured him in their hearts. On all these German councils of 1085 see Waltram, *De unitate*, ii. 18 ff.

[1] Paul, c. 108.

[2] "In defensione justiciæ usque ad mortem firmissimus." Bernald, *l.c.*

[3] Bonizo, and *Cod. Vat. A*, p. 343. [4] Ep. viii. 54. [5] Paul, *l.c.*

[6] Paul (c. 109) mentions, besides Desiderius, the legate Otho and Hugh, archbishop of Lyons. To these the *Chron. Cas.* adds Anselm of Lucca. But Guido (*l.c.*), Paul, and the *Chron. Cas.* (iii. 65) all agree that Desiderius was the one specially selected.

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Peter and Paul, he had power so to do.[1] His last will and testament did not require much making. He had only his vestments to leave, and of these he gave his mitre to Anslem of Lucca.[2]

Finally, exhorting the cardinals only to regard as Pope the one who should be canonically elected, he received the Holy Viaticum, and with his dying lips cried out: "I have loved justice and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile." "In exile, Holy Father," exclaimed a bishop, "thou canst not die; for in the stead of Christ and His apostles you have received from God the Gentiles for your inheritance, and the ends of the earth for your possession."[3]

It was on May 25 that "the Church on earth was thrown into great grief by the news of the decease"[4] of him who was "the terror of the wicked and the shield of the good, who never ceased to lead the people from the paths of vice to those which lead to heaven, and whose own life was in accordance with his teaching."[5]

His death moved to tears even the stark Guiscard, who was destined in a few weeks to follow Gregory to that bourne whence no traveller has returned;[6] and "it moved to tears all religious men and women, but especially the

[1] Paul, c. 110. *Cf. Ann. Ratisbon.*, 1085, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xiii. *Cf.* a letter of Urban II., ap. Hugh of Flavigny, *Chron.*, ii. p. 339, and Rangerius, p. 214, where we read that even Henry and Guibert were to be absolved on doing penance.

[2] Rangerius, *l.c.* [3] Paul, *l.c.*

[4] *Ib.* We have no space to discuss the fabulous account of Gregory's last moments quoted from some imperialist author by Sigebert and by the second continuator of Scotus (an. 1085). *Cf.* on it Delarc, iii. 632 ff.

[5] William of Apulia, I. v. "Vitaque doctrinæ non discordare solebat."

[6] *Ib.* He died (July 17) of a fever at "Bundicia on the river Glykys, on the coast of Epirus, and not, as is generally said, at Cephalonia." See Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, vi. 207 n., ed. Bury. His army returned at once to Italy.

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poor."[1] Of all the good who had grief for the death of Gregory, not one was so deeply affected as the faithful Countess Matilda. "Oft," says Rangerius,[2] "was she shaken in her sadness by her sobs; and when she saw his mitre, her love was wounded afresh; she dissolved in tears, and sought the cover of darkness. She faded away with the desire of being with Christ, and of enjoying her eternal reward with her friend. After his death she loved nothing but death."

Gregory's tomb.

The body of the great Pontiff was laid to rest in the Church of St. Matthew, which had just been built to receive the relics[3] of the evangelist, and which Gregory had himself consecrated this very year.[4] Some two hundred years after the interment, John of Procida, a name ever to be connected with the "Sicilian Vespers," erected a beautiful chapel over the tomb, which was at the right of the high altar, and "at which God had deigned to work many miracles."[5] Towards the close of the sixteenth century (1578), the marble tomb given by Guiscard had fallen into decay. Before erecting a new monument over the remains of "the guardian of pontifical authority," Mark Anthony Colonna, archbishop of Salerno, ordered them to be laid bare. They were found still clad in the sacred vestments in which they had been buried, and entire. So says the archbishop himself, who assures us that "he saw

[1] Bernald, 1085. But it moved to a virtuous joy the modern historian Gregorovius, who wrote (*Rome*, iv. pt. i. p. 255) that in Gregory's end "eternal justice obtains as glorious a triumph as in Napoleon's lonely death on St. Helena." This preposterous verdict has against it that of well-nigh every respectable historian, whether ancient or modern.

[2] P. 215.

[3] Paul c. 110. On the discovery of the apostle's relics, *cf.* epp. Greg. viii. 8.

[4] Bernald, 1085. *Cf.* Bonizo and William of Apulia, l. v.

[5] Bonizo.

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the remains with his own eyes, and touched them with his own hands." The official document drawn up by his order informs us that "on the head was a simple pontifical mitre, with crosses worked on its fillets. The stole was of silk, shot with gold, and had upon it both gold ornaments and the words *Pax Nostra*. The silk gloves were beautifully woven with golden threads and pearls, and with a cross on the back of each of them. On the ring-finger was a gold ring without a stone. The chasuble was red, shot with gold, and there was a silk tunic. The buskins, which were partially eaten away, were also shot with gold, had crosses on each of the feet, and reached almost to the knees. There was a girdle of gold, and a veil covered the face. There were also remains of the pallium. . . . In a word, all the vestments of a Pontiff were there."

In 1605 the tomb was opened again, and the cranium and right arm were taken out, the latter being sent to Gregory's birthplace, Soana. In 1614 the remains were transferred to their present resting place beneath the altar of Procida's chapel.

The tomb of Gregory on which the visitor to Salerno now gazes is that of Colonna, but his statue which he sees there was erected only by Archbishop G. Beltrano (1606–1611). The modern decorations of the chapel were the work of Pius IX.[1] The poor fresco on the right of the wretched, anachronistic statue represents Gregory's entrance into Salerno with Guiscard, and the equally indifferent one on the left depicts his reception of the canons of Salerno. The whole memorial is utterly unworthy of one of the world's really great heroes.

[1] "Pius IX. Pont. sui anno XXVII. restituendum curavit." It was on the feast of the Epiphany, 1909, that I copied this inscription which runs above the altar beneath which repose the remains of Gregory.

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Photo, Vincenzo Cataneo, Salerno.

Chapel and Tomb of St. Gregory VII. at Salerno.

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The honour which had been previously paid to him as a saint by the people of Salerno was accorded to him throughout the universal Church by the order of Benedict XIII.[1] (1729).

[1] Trama, ii. p. 529 ff., who gives the original documents. The one cited in the text is given *ib.*, p. 714; Bowden, ii. 325 ff.; Hare, *Cities of Southern Italy*, p. 238 ff. In the last-named author are one or two mistakes. In his little book, *S. Gregorio VII. a Salerno* (Salerno, 1885), Carucci gives us the local traditions about the Pope's residence there. The ruins of the castle of St. Angelo are pointed out as the remains of the dwelling which once sheltered Gregory.

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CHAPTER IX.

ENGLAND, IRELAND, AND SCANDINAVIA.

First communications between Gregory and William and Lanfranc.

ONE of those who were sincerely glad of the elevation of Hildebrand to the See of Peter was William the Conqueror, for he was mindful of the efforts he had made to secure the approval of Rome for his invasion of England. Besides, he realised that Hildebrand was a Conqueror too, and there was the sympathy of great minds between them. Though Gregory was very far from approving of all William's acts, and from obtaining all he wanted from him, he always regarded him as the best of the civil rulers of the time. When he wrote to thank him for his expressions of sympathy concerning the decease of Alexander, and of joy at his succession, he assured him that "he was the king whom he took it to be his duty to love above all others." At the same time, he did not lose the opportunity to exhort William to be just in all his dealings, to defend the churches committed to his care, to place the honour of God above all his worldly interests, and to look after the revenue of St. Peter in England, as he would look after his own. On the other hand, he lets him know that he has care for the interests of the Conqueror's monastery of St. Stephen at Caen.[1] In writing on the same occasion to William's wife, Matilda,[2] he entreated her never to cease endeavouring to inspire her husband with good intentions, reminding her that if "the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the believing wife,"[3]

[1] Ep. i. 70, April 4, 1074. Gregory's good opinion of William is expressed in other letters. *Cf.* iv. 17, and *infra*, n. 1.

[2] I. 71.

[3] 1 Cor. vii. 14.

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a believing husband is made still better by a believing wife.

Gregory held that William was better than other kings,[1] because "he neither sold nor destroyed the churches of God, but endeavoured to promote the reign of peace and justice among his subjects, and because he refused to join himself to the enemies of the Apostolic See, and caused the clergy to dismiss their wives, and the laity to give up the Church tithes which they had seized."

If, with all this, Gregory did not find the Conqueror as "religious as he could have wished,"[2] so, too, with all his virtues, he did not find Lanfranc as obedient as he could have wished. Learned and pious, Lanfranc was diplomatic, and from the day when he made peace between William and Rome on the subject of his marriage,[3] he remained in the closest intimacy with his sovereign. Under his hands the Conqueror became something of a churchman, and under the masterful mind of William, Lanfranc learnt to take up, to some extent, the attitude of an independent statesman.

No sooner had Gregory been elected Pope than he informed "his most beloved brother" Lanfranc of the fact, and implored him to pray for him, because he felt that, if he wished to escape the judgment to come, he would have to oppose himself to kings and bishops who were not merely doing no good, but were actually leading their people to evil. Finally, recognising in him, as Gregory I. did in St. Augustine, a sort of patriarchal authority over the British Isles, he exhorted him to put down certain scandals existing among the Irish.[4]

[1] Ep. viii. 28. [2] *Ib.* [3] *Vide supra*, vi. p. 65 n. 2.

[4] Ep. coll. 1. Lanfranc's letters (ap. *P. L.*, t. 150) show that he endeavoured to give effect to this wish of the Pope. *Cf.* Stephens, *The English Church* (1066–1272), p. 56 f.

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Herfast of Elmham.

About the same time Lanfranc received another letter from the Pope, in which, assuring him that he had as little doubt about him as he had about himself, Gregory expressed his astonishment that he suffered the Holy See to be trifled with, by not preventing Herfast, bishop of Elmham, from harassing the abbey of St. Edmundsbury, which was under papal protection.[1] Herfast was one of the most indifferent of William's episcopal creations,[2] and gave Lanfranc trouble by ordaining a married man deacon.[3] How strongly he took up the defence of the abbey may be gathered from his letter to Herfast on the subject.[4]

Lanfranc blamed for not coming to Rome.

By degrees Gregory's regard for Lanfranc began to cool. The bishops and abbots of England had been ordered to attend the synod of 1075, "by virtue of the obedience which they owed to Blessed Peter"; because, said the Pope, the state of religion in England was not what it ought to be.[5] But Lanfranc failed to comply with this and other[6] corresponding summonses which Gregory addressed to him. At length, by the hands of his legate Hubert, "subdeacon of the sacred palace," whom he was sending on an embassy to the king, Gregory forwarded a letter to Lanfranc which was very different in tone from its predecessors. He expressed his surprise that the archbishop, who had ever manifested affection for him, should have hitherto failed, despite frequent mandates, to visit him. Only the apostolic clemency and the remembrance of former friendship had prevented him from making his displeasure very

[1] Ep. i. 31, November 1073. *Cf.* Jaffé, 4692 (3462).

[2] "Parcæ, ut aiunt, mentis homo, et nonnulla ex parte litteris eruditus." Malmesbury, *De Gest. Pont.*, ii. p. 1519.

[3] Stephens, p. 58; Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, ii. 154.

[4] Hook, *ib.* *Cf.* epp. Lanf., 28, 30, ap. *P. L.*, t. 150.

[5] Ep. ii. 1. [6] Ep. vi. 30.

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apparent. He had learnt, indeed, that it was fear of the king which had prevented his journey, but he was not to allow himself to be swayed by fear of the powers of this world. He finished his letter by exhorting him to remind the king of his duty, and to warn him that he was not to attempt to hinder anyone from going to Rome.[1]

To this letter of the Pope, Lanfranc returned a respectful but very evasive reply. It was the reply not of a thoroughly loyal son of the Church, but of a politician in sympathy with a master who was anxious to have the Church as subservient to himself as the State. "To Gregory, the reverend and supreme pastor of the Universal Church, Lanfranc, the sinner and unworthy bishop, offers his due submissive service." He begins by saying that he has received the Pope's letter, which is full of paternal admonitions, and which accuses him of not showing the same respect for the Roman Church as he had shown before he was raised to his present elevated position which he and everybody else understands that he owes "to the authority of the Apostolic See."[2] He continues: "I must not, venerable Father, say you are labouring under a mistake; but, as my conscience is my witness, I can never suppose myself thinking that absence, or distance, or any exalted position could avail to prevent me from being completely submissive to your orders, in accordance with the dictates of the canons."[3] He promises when, by God's help, he does meet the Pope, to show that the loss of love

[1] Ep. vi. 30, March 1079.

[2] Ep. Lanf., ap. *P. L.*, t. 148, p. 738. "Apostolicæ sedis *auctoritate* ad ipsius apicem honoris me pervenisse non dubitem."

[3] Hook's translation of this letter (*l.c.*, ii. 140) is too defective to give the reader a proper notion of its respectful tone. He omits its dedication and all mention of the *authority* of the Holy See, and wholly mistranslates this last sentence.

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is rather on his side, and assures him that he has endeavoured, though without success,[1] to forward the legate's business with the king.

William and homage to the Pope.

The business of the legate Hubert[2] was to obtain from William for the Pope not only the Peter's Pence which was due, but also that which Gregory supposed to go along with the payment of money, viz., an oath of fealty. How far the legate was successful in his quest will be best understood from the king's letter on the subject to the Pope. "Thy legate Hubert, Holy Father, hath called upon me in thy name to take the oath of fealty to thee and to thy successors, and to exert myself in enforcing the more regular payment of the money which my predecessors were accustomed to remit to the Church of Rome. One request I have granted; the other I refuse. Homage to thee I have not chosen, nor do I choose to do. I never made a promise to that effect, neither do I find that it was ever performed by my predecessors to thine. The money in question during the three years past, owing to my being frequently in France, has been negligently collected. Now, as I am, by divine mercy, returned to my kingdom, the money which has been collected is remitted by the aforesaid legate.[3] As for the rest, it shall be sent, as opportunity shall occur, by the legates of our trusty Archbishop Lanfranc. Pray for us, and for our kingdom, for we always respected thy predecessors, and we would fain regard

[1] "Suasi, sed non persuasi." *Ib.* [2] Ep. iv. 17.

[3] As often happened, all the money collected by Hubert does not appear to have found its way to Rome. Hubert seems to have died at the abbey of Bec, *c.* 1096. Writing to its abbot Anselm in that year, Urban asked him to forward to Rome any monies belonging to him which Hubert may have left there. "Cum . . . a . . . Gregorio legationem in Anglorum regno acceperit, multa ex censu b. Petri dicitur collegisse, quæ si apud vos sunt, citius ad nos volumus destinari." Ep. Urb., 23, ap. *P. L.*, t. 151.

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thee with sincere affection, and be always thy obedient servant."[1]

Gregory felt much annoyed at this reply, and at once recalled Hubert by letter, saying that he cared not for money unaccompanied by homage.[2] At the same time, however, he expressed his dissatisfaction that another of his legates had ventured on his own authority to upbraid William (*adversus regem verba fecisse*), although, indeed, he wrote, the Roman Church had many causes of complaint against him. "He has not been ashamed," wrote the indignant Pontiff, "to do what no pagan king ever has presumed to attempt against the Apostolic See, viz., irreverently and impudently to prevent bishops from coming to the threshold of the apostles (*ad limina*)."[3] So far, he continued, memory of former affection had caused him to stay his hand, but Hubert must let the king know that if he continued his present course he would be made to feel the wrath of St. Peter. Because William opposed simony and clerical incontinence, Gregory bore with his shortcomings towards himself, as did Pius VI. those of Napoleon I. because he restored religion in France.

Lanfranc threatened with suspension.

The letter just quoted contained another order for English and Norman bishops to present themselves at the Lenten synod of 1080. Their failure to attend and the continued disobedience of their archbishop at length (*c.* 1081)[4] brought

[1] Ep. Willelmi, ap. *P. L.*, t. 148, p. 748. Hook's translation (ii. 138) is given.

[2] "Nam pecunias sine honore tributas, quanti pretii habeam, tu ipse optime potuisti dudum perpendere." Ep. vii. 1, September 1079.

[3] Moreover, we are assured by Eadmer (*Hist. Nov.*, i. p. 6, ed. Selden) that among the new laws he caused to be observed throughout England were regulations prohibiting anyone from acknowledging any claimant of the Papacy as Pope except with his permission, or from receiving any papal letters which had not been previously shown to him. "He wished to have all things, human and divine, at his beck."

[4] Ep. viii. 43 (ix. 20).

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upon the latter a threat of suspension if he did not present himself before the Pope in the course of the four months following the receipt of the notice.

Fortunately for Lanfranc, however, a weapon fell into his hands which enabled him to parry the blows of the Pontiff. An antipope (Clement) had been elected at Brixen (1080).[1] By his agent, Cardinal Hugo Candidus, he at once endeavoured to secure the allegiance of England. Lanfranc was not disloyal enough to throw off the obedience he owed to Gregory, but he was—shall we say—diplomatic enough to give out that it was quite possible that it might become necessary to do so. This cunning ruse and the difficulties into which Henry's march on Rome plunged the Pope, enabled Lanfranc to pursue his career of independence unchecked. The letter, generally supposed to have been written to Hugo, in which Lanfranc unfolds this policy, does him credit as a diplomatist, if not as a Catholic bishop. It is true he objects to the disrespectful language towards Gregory used by his correspondent, as also to his excessive flattery of Clement. "Nevertheless, I fully believe that the illustrious Emperor would not have embarked in an affair of such importance (the deposition of the Pope) without good reason, nor can I suppose that he could have effected his purpose except by the Divine assistance. . . . Our island has not, as yet, rejected Gregory; it has not decided upon tendering obedience to Clement. When both sides have been heard, we shall be better qualified to come to a resolution of the case."[2] The result of this *quasi* neutrality,

[1] Before the election of Guibert in June, several letters were this year addressed by Gregory to William (epp. vii. 23, 25), exhorting him to obedience to his authority; to Matilda, his wife (vii. 26), saying that he wants nothing from her but that she should lead a chaste life and have a care for the poor; and to his son Robert (vii. 27), begging him to be submissive to his parents.

[2] Ep. 59, Lanf., ap. *P. L.*, t. 150. Hook's translation.

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though it enabled William and Lanfranc to act very independently of Rome, still caused them to be "counted among the Gregorian party by its continental supporters."[1]

There is no doubt that this was the correct view for them to take, as is shown by the following fact. William, bishop of Durham, finding that his cathedral church and the body of St. Cuthbert were no longer served as of old by monks, consulted King William and Lanfranc as to what he should do, "in order that no one should hereafter set aside his arrangements on the plea that they were his own private acts."[2] "Anxious that a design of such utility should obtain general approbation," the king sent the bishop to the Pope "in order to consult with him not only upon this particular piece of business, but upon some other matters, with the management of which he entrusted him."[3] After the bishop had "truthfully explained to the Lord Pope Gregory the former and present condition of the Church of Durham,"[4] a bull was issued by which he was authorised to eject the secular canons from his cathedral, and to replace them by the monks of Wearmouth and Jarrow.[5] By separate letters King William and Lanfranc were encouraged to assist in the carrying out of the bishop's wish. "When the king heard that the Pope had assented in this wise, he was no little

Monks for Durham, 1083.

[1] Liebermann, ap. *English Hist. Rev.*, vol. xvi. (1901) p. 328. In the article from which this remark is quoted, Liebermann prints for the first time three letters of the antipope to Lanfranc, in which, flattering his virtues and learning, he endeavours to win him and his king over to his side. He has the good sense, however, not to put forth his own personal merits: "Non nos propter peccata nostra despicias, non ad merita nostra intentionem retorqueas." Ep. 1.

[2] Simeon of Durham, *Hist. Dunelm.*, c. 61 (ed. Twysden, iv. 2).

[3] *Ib.*

[4] So writes the anonymous author of *The Unjust Persecution of Bishop William by William Rufus*, p. 731 of Stevenson's translation of Simeon of Durham.

[5] *Cf.* Simeon, *ib.*; the anonymous author, *ib.*; and Jaffé, 5256. *Cf.* 5310.

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rejoiced, and he gave his licence for its accomplishment." Accordingly, after the exhibition of the papal bull "to the assembled multitudes," the monks were restored to Durham (May 1083).[1]

William rebuked for the imprisonment of Odo, 1082-1083.

But Gregory was not the man to confine himself to granting favours to retain doubtful allegiance. In the very last letter in his Register[2] we find him remonstrating with William on his imprisoning his brother Odo, bishop of Bayeux. This warlike and ambitious prelate, like another Wolsey, ambitioned the Papacy. He had accumulated large sums of gold, and, "by stuffing the scrips of pilgrims with letters and money, he had nearly purchased the Roman Papacy from the citizens."[3] But when rumour of his schemes brought soldiers to him from all parts of England, his brother the king took alarm, not knowing to what purpose he might turn his troops. He accordingly threw Odo into prison, saying that he did not seize the bishop of Bayeux, but the earl of Kent[4] (1082).

The Conqueror's sarcastic distinction between Odo as a bishop and as the second man in his kingdom did not recommend itself to Gregory. He accordingly wrote to the king, saying that the satisfaction he experienced in the contemplation of the king's many virtues was dulled by the thought that in imprisoning his brother he had preferred reasons of State to the laws of God. Quoting the Holy Scriptures,[5] the saying of the great emperor Constantine at the council of Nice, and the words of the Fathers, he enlarged on the sacerdotal dignity.[6] Unfortunately, only

[1] Simeon, cc. 61 and 62.

[2] VIII. 60 (x. xi. 2). *Cf.* epp. coll. 44, to Hugh of Lyons.

[3] William of Malmesbury, *De Gest. Reg.*, l. iii., sub an. 1087

[4] *Ib.*, § 277, ed. *P. L.*, t. 179. "Præfatus non se Baiocarum episcopum, sed comitem Cantiæ prendere." *Cf.* Ordericus Vitalis, l. vii. c. 8; and *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, ad an. 1082.

[5] Zachary, ii. 8; 1 Paral. xvi. 22. [6] Ep. viii. 60 (x. xi. 2).

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a fragment of this letter is extant; but it is certain it had no immediate effect upon William. Only on his deathbed did he reluctantly grant the release of Odo, assuring the bystanders that he had kept his brother in prison because he was destitute of the virtues either of a bishop or of a prince.[1]

Ireland.

In the very beginning of his pontificate, Gregory directed his attention towards Ireland. The ravages of the Danes, and the terrible losses sustained by the Irish at the great battle of Clontarf, in which they crushed the power of the Norsemen (1014), were fatal to Christian discipline in their country. "After Clontarf native unity and strength were over, and the reign of discord and chaos was about to begin."[2] In his first letter to Lanfranc,[3] Gregory exhorted him to endeavour to put down adultery and the selling of wives which were so common in parts of Ireland. As a consequence, Lanfranc wrote to Guthric, one of the kings of the Danes in Ireland, whom he calls "a precious son of the Holy Roman Church," encouraging him to hold fast to the faith,[4] and bidding him put down throughout his kingdom offences against the laws of marriage.[5] He wrote also to Turlogh O'Brian, a grandson of the hero of Clontarf, the great Brian Boru, "the most vigorous sovereign of the eleventh century" (†1086), and the overlord of the Danish king just mentioned. After congratulating Ireland on the possession of such a prince, he begs him to set his face against the practice of divorce and of other customs prohibited by the Gospel, the Popes, and the Canons.[6]

[1] Ordericus, *l.c.*, c. 16.

[2] D'Alton, *History of Ireland*, i. 119, London, 1904. *Cf.* Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, p. 315 n., where he writes: "The political and social life of Ireland during the eleventh century was one perpetual scene of war and bloodshed. The moral state of the country seems then to have touched its lowest point. The descendants of the great Brian quarrelled among themselves."

[3] Epp. coll. 1. [4] The Danes were now Christians. [5] Ep. 37.

[6] Ep. 38, addressed to "Magnifico Hiberniæ regi Terdelvaco."

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It was to this same distinguished ruler that Gregory wrote in 1083. The tone of his letter may be better understood if it be borne in mind that Donogh O'Brian, one of the sons of Brian Boru, who survived the fateful day of Clontarf, went to Rome on a pilgrimage, "perhaps anxious to atone for his crimes," and "is said to have presented the crown and sceptre of Munster to the reigning Pope."[1]

Impressing on Turlogh and all the people of Ireland the necessity of their practising the virtue of justice, and of loving and preserving Christian peace, he lays it down that "the authority of Christ has founded His Holy Church on a solid rock, and has committed its rights to Blessed Peter, and He has also constituted it over all the kingdoms of the world. To this Church He has subjected principalities, powers, and everything else which is sublime upon earth, according to the prophet Isaiah: 'They that slander thee shall come and shall worship the steps of thy feet.' Therefore to Blessed Peter and his vicars, among whom, by divine dispensation, we happen to be numbered, the whole world owes obedience and reverence, which, with a devout mind, you shall remember to show to the Holy Roman Church. If, therefore, any affairs shall take place among you which may seem to require our assistance, be careful to apply to us at once, and your just demand, with God's help, you shall obtain."[2] In this letter, however, there is nothing to compel one to believe that Gregory does not refer simply to spiritual subjection.

Scandinavia.

Apart from vague appeals to Svend Estrithson, the king

[1] D'Alton, *l.c.*, p. 124, who adds that it is also said that these were afterwards presented by Hadrian IV. to Henry II. of England. He died in Rome, 1064.

[2] Jaffé, 5059, February 24, at Sutri, 1083. The rendering of the letter here given is that of Brenan, *An Eccles. Hist. of Ireland*, p. 208, Dublin, 1864.

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of Denmark, for help against the Normans,[1] Gregory's relations with Scandinavia were confined to efforts to develop its civilisation, and to spread the faith within its limits. Hence he earnestly exhorted its kings to do their duty to their people, "with the royal name to manifest royal virtues, and to show that there ever reigned in their hearts that justice in virtue of which they ruled their subjects." "You know," he wrote to Svend (or Sweyn II.), "that the glory and delights of this world are fleeting and deceptive. You know that all flesh hastens day by day to its last end, and that death spares no one. You know that kings, just like the poorest, are only dust and ashes, and that all men will one day be severely judged. Both bishops, then, and kings have all the more reason to fear that they have to answer for their subjects as well as for themselves. So live, then, so reign that you may then look with confidence on the face of the Eternal King and Judge, and receive from Him an eternal crown in return for an earthly sceptre wielded with virtue."[2]

Harald Hein.

Quite similar was the advice he gave to Svend's son Harald III. He would have him season his life with justice and mercy, and be the protector of the poor, the widow, and the orphan.[3] Harald showed himself willing to profit by Gregory's wisdom, and begged for more explicit direction as to the proper government of his kingdom.[4] To be enabled to comply properly with the king's request, Gregory asked him to send him a cleric who could inform him regarding the manners and customs of the Danes, and then carry back to Denmark the instructions of the

[1] Epp. ii. 51 and 75. *Cf. supra*, p. 65. [2] II. 51.

[3] "Sit vita tua . . . justitiæ et misericordiæ condimento saleque condita," etc. V. 10. *Cf.* vii. 21.

[4] "Sanctam Romanam ecclesiam matrem tuam et universorum recognoscens, ipsius documenta tibi exoptas et exposcis." VII. 5, October 15, 1079.

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Apostolic See.[1] One result of Harald's friendly communications with Gregory seems to have been that he became one of Denmark's favourite legislators, and his successors, on their accession, were made to swear to observe his enactments.[2] Another was that he obtained an ally who helped to preserve his kingdom for him intact.[3]

Olaf III. of Norway.

Gregory also corresponded with the good King Olaf III. of Norway, known as Kyrre, or the Peaceful, whom he regarded as living "almost at the extremity of the world." He requested the king "to send to the court of the apostles some of the young nobles of his country, in order that, carefully trained under the eyes of the apostles Peter and Paul in the laws of God and the Church, they may be able worthily to teach and practise the word of God."[4] Besides exhorting Olaf to be just towards all, he warned him not to help any of those who were trying to disturb the country of Harald Hein.

Iceland.

Gregory's keen vision extended even beyond the "furthest limits" of the world; for the annals of Iceland tell us that it was by his orders that the second native Icelander, Gissur, was consecrated bishop.[5] It is not easy to overestimate the advantages which accrued to these young and distant countries from their intercourse with Rome and Gregory. Civilisation was in each case steadily promoted in both head and members.

[1] VII. 5.

[2] *Cf.* Allen, *Hist. de Danemark*, i. 91; Dunham, *Hist. of Denmark*, etc., ii. 184.

[3] VI. 13.

[4] *Ib.*, December 15, 1078. Very prettily he wrote: "De ultimis finibus estis; sed si curritis . . . primis patribus in regno cœlesti sociati eritis."

[5] "Gissurus episcopus ad diœcesim Skalholtinam creatur ab Hardevigo Magdaburgensi archiepiscopo *jussu* (*at radi*, in Icelandic) Gregorii (VII.) Papæ." *Ann. Island.*, an. 1082, ap. *Script. Rer. Dan.*, ii. p. 46, ed. Langebek, Hafniæ, 1774.

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CHAPTER X.

FRANCE AND SPAIN; AFRICA AND SARDINIA.

Philip of France.

OF the kings of northern Europe, Gregory, as we have seen, uniformly spoke well. He could, at times, even find a good word to say of Henry IV.; but he had never anything but evil to write of Philip of France. And his judgment of that king has been endorsed by all subsequent writers. Weak and wicked, Philip was denounced by the Pope as the prince of his time who was the most stained with simony, and the most anxious to enslave the Church. Constantly false to his promises of amendment, Gregory found it necessary to threaten him. He declared he would lay all France under an interdict, the consequences of which would be that his subjects, "unless they were willing to give up the Christian faith, would refuse to yield him any further obedience."[1] Under the rule of such a sovereign, or rather tyrant,[2] Gregory declared the once powerful kingdom of France had sunk lower and lower, till it seemed to have lost all sense of honour and decorum.[3] Justice was trampled under foot, and crime stalked with impunity through a country desolated by private wars. Its impotent king did nothing but set an example to his subjects of every crime. That he had been allowed to go so far along the path of vice was the fault, so Gregory declared, of the supineness of the bishops. They must warn their king,

[1] Ep. i. 35, December 1073.

[2] "Qui non rex sed tyrannus dicendus est." Ep. ii. 5, September 1074, Gregory's most important letter on France.

[3] The language of the paragraph of the letter (ii. 5) in which these words occur might with justice be used by Pius X. of the France of to-day (1907).

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and if he would not hear them, they must lay France under an interdict. If that failed to bring him to a sense of his duty, he would strive in every way to take his kingdom from him.[1]

In his efforts to purify the Church of France, Gregory was actively and directly seconded by the zeal and ability of Hugh, bishop of Die,[2] who acted as his legate, and indirectly, as it were, by the prayers of St. Bruno, who founded the Carthusian Order during his pontificate (1084). The chief obstacle to the work of reform was Manasses, archbishop of Rheims, whose priestly character may be gauged by his remark that the archbishopric of Rheims would be worth having if it did not involve the saying of Mass.[3]

Under Hugh synods were held, simoniacal bishops deposed, and monies due to the Holy See were collected.[4] So zealous was Hugh in the work of reform, that his zeal sometimes outran his discretion, and Gregory occasionally found it necessary to annul or modify his sentences,[5] and to urge moderation upon him.[6]

[1] "Quodsi nec hujusmodi districtione voluerit resipiscere, nulli dubium esse volumus, quin modis omnibus regnum Franciæ de ejus occupatione, temptemus eripere." II. 5.

[2] A monograph on Amatus, bishop of Oloron, another of Gregory's legates in France, has just been published by Fazy, Paris, 1908.

[3] Guibert de Nogent, *De vita sua*, i. c. 11, ap. *P. L.*, t. 156.

[4] Epp. coll. 6. The monies consisted of taxes due from religious houses, etc., and also of Peter's Pence. All the Gauls must be reminded "ut unaquæque domus saltem unum denarium annuatim solvat B. Petro, si eum recognoscunt patrem et pastorem suum, more antiquo." Charlemagne, he wrote, used to collect at three centres, viz., at Aix-la-Chapelle, Ste-Marie-du-Puy (in Velai), and St. Gilles (as is shown by his returns—"in thomo ejus"—in the Church of St. Peter), 1200 pounds for the use of the Apostolic See, apart from voluntary offerings. Evidently the old Gallic patrimonies had by this time all been lost. Ep. viii. 23.

[5] *Cf.* ep. v. 17.

[6] VIII. 28 (ix. 5). "Videtur enim nobis multo melius . . . lenitatis dulcedine ac rationis ostensione quam austeritate . . . illum Deo lucrari."

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Referring the reader elsewhere[1] for an account of the manner in which Gregory was drawn into the interminable dispute about the respective jurisdictions of Tours and Dol; of his further dealings with the worldly and headstrong archbishop of Rheims;[2] and of his recognition of the primacy of the archbishop of Lyons over the ecclesiastical provinces of Lyons, Rouen, Tours, and Sens, we shall close our narration of Gregory's relations with France by the story of his dealings with Berengarius of Tours.

Berengarius of Tours.

As the heresy of Berengarius still continued to cause unrest in France, it was again condemned at the synod of Poitiers[3] (1075); for, despite recantations, and despite promises to maintain silence on the doctrine of the Eucharist, the archdeacon continued to propound his theories. When, in consequence, he was summoned by the Pope's representatives in France to appear before them, not wishing to be tried by judges on the spot who could easily learn the truth, he threw himself on the protection of Gregory. Writing, accordingly, to the Pope, "who in the Lord Jesus has to be treated with the most profound reverence," and to whom he offers "his sincerest affection," he professes to be astonished that his legates should wish to proceed against him. He is surprised, because he has obeyed the Pope's order to preserve silence on his doctrine, though he does add, ambiguously enough, "as far as he ought." He declares that he has resolved to treat of his case only in presence of the Pope, in which he trusts soon to be.[4] Finally, objecting to the local judges as prejudiced, or as men of no character, he begs the Pope not to subject him

[1] Delarc, iii. *passim*; Jager, *Hist. de l'Église de France*, vi. 414 ff.

[2] He was finally deposed by Gregory, March 1080.

[3] Hefele, *Conc.*, vi. p. 509.

[4] "In hoc jussioni tuæ (viz., to keep silence), quantum oportebat, satisfeci et nihil me ultra de negotio isto acturum, nisi in solius audientia tua, omnino constitui." Ep. 20, Bereng., ap. Sudendorf, p. 230.

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to them, but to grant him a protection worthy of the Apostolic See.

Berengarius again in Rome, 1078.

This and other letters[1] which he received from France convinced Gregory that he must again examine Berengarius. He therefore summoned him to appear before him. If we are to believe Berengarius himself, there was some talk, when he arrived in Rome, of submitting him to the ordeal of red-hot iron, but the Pope decided that it was not to take place.[2] However that may be, his teachings were thoroughly examined in the important synod of February 1079. The *Father* of this council, at which were present 150 bishops and abbots and a very large number of clergy,[3] was Alberic, a monk of Monte Cassino. When hard pressed, Berengarius was in the habit of declaring that after the words of consecration had been pronounced the eyes saw upon the altar bread and wine, but faith told us that the bread and wine are the body and blood of Jesus Christ.[4] His assertion, properly interpreted, is sound Catholic doctrine; but, when free to say what he believed, Berengarius held that it was man's faith alone which supposed the body and blood of our Lord to be upon the altar, and that, *de facto*, really, or strictly speaking, they were not there at all. To put an end to this quibbling, Alberic proposed to add the word *substantially* to the declaration of Berengarius that, after the consecration, the

[1] *Cf.* Ep. v. 21.

[2] *Cf.* Delarc, iii. 449 ff.

[3] *Cf.* Bernald, *De Beringerii damnat.*, c. 9, ap. *P. L.*, t. 148.

[4] See his words in Martene and Durand, *Thesaurus novus*, iv. 103, ed. Paris, 1717. *Cf.* Bernald, *l.c.*, c. 1. He says that Berengarius taught "panem et vinum in sacrificio Domini non vere nec essentialiter, sed figurative tantum converti in corpus et sanguinem Dominicum." On the whole, it seems safer to conclude that the position of Berengarius was rather negative than positive. He opposed the doctrine of Transubstantiation; but it does not seem certain whether he believed in the Real Presence or not. Probably he did. He would appear to have held the theory of Companation.

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body and blood of our Lord were present on the altar.[1] Hence in the official version of the proceedings of the synod we read that "the great majority (*maxima pars*) of those present held that in virtue of the words of consecration pronounced by the priest,[2] the bread and wine were, by the invisible co-operation of the Holy Ghost, converted substantially into the body and blood of our Lord." After three days' discussion, those who had maintained a mere figurative change gave way, and Berengarius asked and obtained pardon for his heretical teaching. He took an oath that he believed as the council had defined, and was commanded by Gregory never again to discuss the doctrine of the Lord's body and blood with anyone, except for the sake of bringing back to the faith one whom his teaching might have led astray.

Satisfied with his submission, Gregory not only allowed him to return to France, but furnished him with a safe conduct as well, forbidding anyone to injure him, "a son of the Roman Church," or to call him a heretic.[3] It was this consideration for Berengarius that caused Gregory's enemies to publish broadcast the accusation that "he called in question the catholic and apostolic faith concerning the body and blood of the Lord, and that he was a long-standing follower of Berengarius."[4]

[1] The feeling that this word would prevent further shuffling on his part caused Berengarius to declaim furiously against Alberic, calling him "not a monk, but a devil." "Erravit potius, facilius plane erravit Casinus ille, non monachus, sed dæmoniacus Albericus, mentitusque est errare me de mensa dominica, nisi cum dicerem, panis sacratus in altari est corpus Christi, adderem substantialiter." The words of Berengarius quoted by Delarc, iii. 455 n.

[2] "Maxima pars, panem et vinum per sacræ orationis verba et sacerdotis consecrationem, Spiritu sancto invisibiliter operante, converti *substantialiter* in corpus dominicum." Ap. *Regist. Greg.*, vi. 17 *a*.

[3] Epp. coll. 24.

[4] Henry's council of Brixen, ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 135. *Cf.* Beno, *Gesta R. E.*, i. 4.

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No sooner was the archdeacon back in France, than, once more false to all his undertakings, he began again, it is said, to spread abroad his peculiar tenets. Condemned for the last time by a council at Bordeaux (October 1080), he ceased from that time till his death (1088) to make history. We may therefore hope that the unanimous assertion of his contemporaries is correct, and that he abandoned his private opinions on the subject of the Holy Eucharist, and died in the bosom of the Church.

Spain. To judge from Gregory's letters, it would appear that the need of reform in Spain was not so urgent as in some of the other countries of the West, or was perhaps not so possible.[1] At any rate, in his known dealings with Spain, Gregory simply followed the policy of Alexander. He encouraged the expeditions which Ebles of Rouci[2] and other French nobles were making against the Moors in Spain. This encouragement he accorded, as we have already seen, on condition that they should hold the lands they might conquer of St. Peter;[3] for Gregory maintained, both to them and to the princes of Spain themselves,[4] that the supreme dominion over the kingdom of Spain belonged to the Roman Church.

But he had more at heart strengthening the bonds of unity which formerly attached the kings of Spain to the Roman pontiffs.[5] Hence, by his letters to both kings and bishops, and by his legates, he endeavoured to push forward the replacement of the Mozarabic liturgy by that of Rome.

[1] There was certainly room for reform, as Gregory wanted suitable persons to be sent there "qui et errorem christianorum qui ibi repperiuntur in spiritualibus corrigere saperent." I. 6. *Cf.* vii. 6.

[2] *Cf. supra*, vi. p. 325 ff.

[3] Ep. i. 7. *Cf.* i. 6.

[4] Ep. iv. 28. "Regnum Hispaniæ ex antiquis constitutionibus b. Petro et S. R. ecclesiæ in jus et proprietatem esse traditum."

[5] Ep. i. 63.

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He congratulated Sancho Ramirez, king of Aragon, on his efforts to effect the desired change,[1] and he begged the kings of Leon and Castile to follow his example. He reminded them of the concord which connected "Spain with the city of Rome in both faith and liturgical practice" before heresy and the invasion of the Goths and Moors dimmed at once the faith of the Spaniards and their worldly prosperity;[2] and he exhorted the two kings to receive that liturgy which had been brought to the notice of the Spaniards long ago by Popes Innocent I. and Hormisdas, and by their own early councils.[3]

Alfonso VI. and the putting away of Agnes.

Up to the autumn of the year 1079 at least, Gregory's intercourse with Alfonso VI. of Leon was most harmonious; for, in recognition of his co-operation with him, he sent him in the October of that year a golden key containing some filings from St. Peter's chains.[4] But before midsummer of the following year, Alfonso had given the Pope grave cause to be dissatisfied with him. In defiance of the laws of the Church he had contracted a second marriage with a relative, Agnes of Aquitaine, and, falling under the influence of an insubordinate monk of Cluny, had gravely slighted (*indecenter tractavit*) the Pope's legate. The monk seems to have been guilty of causing a great number of the Castilians,

[1] *Ib.* "Quod sub ditione tua Romani ordinis officium fieri studio et jussionibus tuis asseris." *Cf.* Jaffé, 5098.

[2] Ep. i. 64. "Quantam concordiam cum Romana urbe Hispania in religione et ordine divini officii habuisset, satis patet." *Cf.* vii. 6.

[3] *Ib.* *Cf.* viii. 25 (ix. 2), to Alfonso VI., king of Leon. Gregory entreats his excellency "quod in ecclesiis regni tui matris omnium S. R. ecclesiæ ordinem recipi et *ex antiquo more* celebrari effeceris," and he declares that in the liturgy in use "quædam contra catholicam . . . fidem inserta esse patulo convincuntur." On the acceptance by the Spaniards of the Roman liturgy in the sixth century, see the letter of Pope Vigilius to the bishop of Braga (Jaffé, 907), and canons 4 and 5 of the council of that city (A.D. 563).

[4] Crux "in qua de catenis B. Petri benedictio continetur." VII. 6, October 1079.

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who were on the point of giving up their objections to the reception of the Roman liturgy,[1] to hold fast to their accustomed one.[2] Hugh of Cluny, who was the recalcitrant monk's abbot, was commanded by the Pope to bring his rebellious subject to order. He was also instructed to make known to Alfonso how grievously he had offended the Pope, who was resolved, unless he repented, to take the extreme step of going himself to Spain, and stirring up opposition against him, if all else failed.[3] At the same time he wrote to Alfonso, exhorting him to renounce both Agnes and his evil counsellor.[4] These representations were not lost on Alfonso. In place of the monk he took as his adviser Bernard, abbot of Sahagun, afterwards archbishop of Toledo, and in place of Agnes he took to wife Constance of Burgundy, the niece of Hugh of Cluny. It was especially by the exertions of Bernard and Constance that the Mozarabic liturgy disappeared from Castile and Leon.

But in the meantime, when any Spanish bishops came to Rome, Gregory prevailed upon them to promise to take up the work of spreading the use of the Roman liturgy;[5] and he strove by letter to move them to "labour that the *Roman ordo* might be more accurately observed throughout Spain, Galicia, and wherever their influence extended."[6] From these earnest efforts of Gregory it resulted that, speaking generally, by the end of the "Hildebrandine

[1] On their unwillingness to accept this liturgy, see a letter of Alfonso to Hugh of Cluny, ap. L'Huillier, *Vie de S. Hugues*, p. 242.

[2] The monk, said Gregory, braved the authority of the Apostolic See "et centum millia hominum qui laboris nostri diligentia ad viam veritatis redire ceperant, per suggestionem suam in pristinum errorem reducere." VIII. 2, June 1080.

[3] *Ib.* [4] VIII. 3. [5] *Ib.*; and i. 83.

[6] Ep. iii. 18. Evidently Gregory did not regard the Mozarabic liturgy as anything else than the Roman corrupted.

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age" the Mozarabic liturgy ceased to be used[1] outside of Toledo and Salamanca.

Africa. If, at this time, the lot of the Christians under the Moors in Spain was not all that could be desired, that of those under the Moslems in Africa was hard indeed. Since the Mohammedan invasion of that country in the seventh century their numbers had steadily declined; and the tenth and eleventh centuries especially witnessed a sad diminution in the number of their bishoprics and centres of work generally. With the decline of their material prosperity ensued a decline in their religious spirit. They became divided amongst themselves. We have seen how St. Leo IX. endeavoured to check the ambition of the bishop of Gummi, or Gummasa, who wished to lord it over the bishop of Carthage, always accounted the first of the African bishops.[2] Now we find a miserable section of the Christians of Carthage dragging their bishop, Cyriacus, before the tribunal of the emir because he would not work their will. Insulted by the Moslem, the unfortunate bishop turned to the sovereign Pontiff. Gregory, who had just been made Pope, at once dispatched two letters to Africa. One upbraided the people for their conduct, and exhorted them to repentance;[3] the other consoled the outraged

[1] On this little known subject of the Mozarabic liturgy see Append. D., p. 211, of Cabrol's *Les origines Liturgiques*, ed. Paris, 1906. The year 1071 is given as the year of the suppression of this liturgy in Aragon and Navarre; and the council of Burgos ordered its suppression in Castile and Leon in 1080. *Cf.* La Fuente, *Hist. eccles. de España*, iii. 367 ff.; Hefele, *Conc.*, vi. 610 f., and his *Life of Ximenes*, p. 183 ff.; Dr. Barry, *The Liturgy of Toledo* in the *Dublin Review*, January 1907.

[2] *Cf. Traités de paix, etc., concernant les relations des Chrétiens avec les Arabes septent. au Moyen Age*, p. 14 ff., by M. L. de Mas Latrie, Paris, 1866.

[3] I. 22, September 1073.

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bishop,[1] and prayed God to succour "the Church of Africa, so long troubled and buffeted by the waves."

Another letter, which Gregory wrote three years later to the same prelate, gives us a picture, striking but melancholy, of the woeful decay of the Church in Africa ever since the days of the Vandals. Shortly after the overthrow of these barbarians by the troops of Justinian, over two hundred African bishops could meet together in council.[2] A list of bishops, written some centuries later, probably in the tenth century, shows that there were still some forty bishops in Africa.[3] By Gregory's time (1076) the number of African bishops had sunk almost to the vanishing point, when El-Nacer, the grandson of the founder of the usurping dynasty of the Hammadites, sent to him an embassy with rich presents. Anxious, no doubt, to strengthen his dynasty, and to attract people to his new city of Boujoyah,[4] he wrote to Gregory, requesting him to consecrate the African priest Servandus for the See of Buzea.[5] In his reply to the Moslem prince, whom he calls Anazir, and describes as king of Mauritania Sitifensis, though his kingdom really extended beyond the limits of that ancient province, the Pope, after granting his request, thanks him for his presents, and especially for having set free a number of Christian captives. "This act of goodness has been suggested to your heart by God, the Creator of all things, without whom we cannot do nor even think any good. . . . For almighty God, who wishes all men to be saved and none to perish, approves of nothing in us so much as that after Him we should love our fellow-men,

[1] I. 23.

[2] The council of Carthage in 535.

[3] Ap. Mas Latrie, *l.c.*, p. 15.

[4] Founded in 1067 near the ruins of Saldae, a large seaport, and the west frontier town of Mauritania Sitifensis.

[5] It is a natural conjecture, but nothing more, that Buzea is the Latin for Boujoyah.

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and not do to others what we would not have them do to us (1 Tim. ii. 4, and St. Matt. vii. 12). This love ought to exist more between us than between other nations, seeing that we, though in a different way, acknowledge the one God, and every day praise and adore Him as the Creator and Ruler of the Universe. For, as the apostle says: 'He is our peace, who hath made both one' (Ephes. ii. 14)." In the concluding portion of this noble letter, the Pope devoted himself to promoting arrangements which might advance friendly relations between his people and those of El-Nacer.[1]

This letter, and one to the people of Buzea, exhorting them to receive Servandus and to edify by their conduct the Saracens in the midst of whom they lived,[2] inform us of the fact of the consecration of an archbishop for Africa by the Pope. But it is one to Cyriacus, archbishop of Carthage,[3] which lets us know the sad truth that Christian Africa had fallen into such a state of distress that it could not furnish the three bishops canonically required to consecrate a new one. In the letter alluded to, Gregory bade Cyriacus, in conjunction with Servandus, send him a proper person to be consecrated as their assistant, so that the three of them may be able to duly consecrate fresh bishops and provide for the necessities of the African Church.

The good understanding between Gregory and El-Nacer seems to have been productive of lasting fruit, for in 1114 a Christian bishop was still to be found in the territory of the Hammadites.[4] But the condition of the African Church only became blacker and blacker, and such valuable documents bearing on it as the letters of Leo IX. and Gregory VII., rarer and rarer.

From the tenth-century list of African bishops just Sardinia.

[1] III. 21. [2] III. 20. [3] III. 19, June 1076.
[4] *Chron. Cas.*, c. 50, ap. *R. I. SS.*, iv. 254. *Cf.* Mas Latrie, p. 67 ff.

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quoted, it would appear that, during the century in which the Moslems occupied Sardinia,[1] viz., during the tenth, its Christian population was for church purposes included in the ecclesiastical province of Mauritania secunda. After the final expulsion of the Moors (1050), however, it reverted to the immediate jurisdiction of the Popes, and we find the indefatigable Gregory working to draw it closer to Rome temporally as well as spiritually.[2]

At first, however, it would seem that the native Sardinian authorities were not disposed to acknowledge the civil suzerainty of the Pope. But when they found that various peoples, regarding the island after the expulsion of the Moors as a sort of no-man's-land, were writing to Gregory for permission to invade and seize it in his name, they were glad enough to acknowledge his claims.[3]

[1] It became subject to the Moors at the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century. They were driven out in 1017, and, after a brief return, finally in 1050.

[2] *Cf.* epp. i. 29, 41, 72.

[3] VIII. 10, October 1080. The adjacent island of Corsica was entrusted by Gregory to Landulf, bishop of Pisa, and his successors to be governed for the Roman Church. VI. 12.

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CHAPTER XI.

THE EASTERN EMPIRE; HUNGARY AND VARIOUS SLAVONIC COUNTRIES.

GREGORY'S hopes with regard to the Eastern Empire were not destined to be realised. He aspired to reunite the Greek Church to the See of Rome, to deliver the Christians of the East from the thraldom of the Turk, and to bring the forces of Constantinople in opposition to those of the Normans. On the accession of Michael VII. to the imperial throne (1071), Pope Alexander had sent St. Peter, bishop of Anagni, to congratulate him on his accession, and to labour for the reunion of the two churches. But his efforts were brought to nothing by that "able but intriguing pedant," Michael Psellus;[1] for Michael himself, though a literary, was a useless sovereign. The consequences of the terrible defeat of Manzikert (1071), however, were gradually impressing upon the Byzantine statesmen that they would have to look to the West for help against the advancing power of the Turks. Overtures in this direction would seem to have reached Gregory soon after he became Pope. In reply to the emperor's expressions of devotion to the Roman Church, Gregory made known to him that it was his ardent wish to renew the ancient union between the Roman Church "and her daughter, the Church of Constantinople," and that to

Michael VII. (Parapinakes).

[1] *Cf. Vit. S. Petri*, by Bruno of Segni, ap. *Acta SS.*, August 3, i. 233. He was sent "pro concordia fidei." *Ib.* pp. 236–237. Muralt, *Essai de chron. Byz.*, p. 22; Finlay, *Hist. of the Byzantine Emp.*, p. 46.

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promote this and other ends, he was sending him Dominic, the patriarch of Venice.[1]

A crusade to help the East.

While these negotiations were pending, the bitter cries of distress which reached him from the Christians of the East, who were suffering cruelly at the hands of the Turks, caused Gregory to turn his attention, as we have seen,[2] to procuring armed help for them. But his projects came to nothing; and he had to look on in anguish of heart while the Eastern Church drifted further from Rome, and the Eastern Empire hastened on to its destruction.[3] Although Michael had not been able to bring the union of the Eastern and Western Churches any nearer, he certainly succeeded in securing the affection of the Pope. Hence we see Gregory not only excommunicating the voluptuary Nicephorus Botoniates[4] who dethroned Michael (1078), but supporting Robert Guiscard in his efforts to avenge him.[5]

Hungary.

When Gregory became Pope, Hungary, like Germany, was ruled by a young man (Solomon, 1063–1074), who was, moreover, a friend of the German monarch, and had married his sister Judith. When he was a mere boy he had been espoused to her by his father (Andrew I.), who had hoped by a German alliance to strengthen him against his uncle Béla. But his German friends and his German sympathies proved far more dangerous to him than either Béla or his sons, Geyza and Ladislaus the Saint. They alienated his people, who naturally turned for guidance to the sons of Béla. In his distress, Solomon appealed for help both to Henry and to the Pope, but he did not succeed in obtaining either material aid from his brother-in-law or moral support from the Pope. The troops of Henry were dis-

[1] Ep. i. 18, July 1073. [2] *Cf. supra*, p. 60 ff. [3] Ep. ii. 49.
[4] *Reg.* vi. 5 *b*. [5] *Supra*, p. 148 f.

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comfited,[1] and the letters of Gregory brought him blame instead of consolation. In accepting his kingdom from Henry as a benefice, he had, the Pope declared, slighted the rights of St. Peter; for the elders of his people could tell him that King Stephen offered the kingdom of Hungary to the Holy Roman Church.[2] If he hoped for the love of the Holy See, he must acknowledge that he held his sceptre "of the apostolical and not of the royal majesty," and regulate his conduct as a king should.

Thus abandoned, Solomon had to fly for his life; and Geyza, the son of Béla, remained in possession of his kingdom. But though Gregory did not feel very keenly the misfortunes of the exiled king, it was otherwise with regard to his wife Judith. To her he wrote a letter full of sympathy and encouragement. "Let not," he said, "the misfortune which has now come upon you terrify you, nor depress your noble mind, but with royal mien o'erlook your troubles, and, firmly trusting in God, bear your difficulties with the natural strength of your character. . . . At all times remember that you must ever strive to render your noble birth and name more illustrious."[3]

Solomon's successor lost no time in commending himself and his cause to the Pope.[4] In reply to his protestations, Gregory wished him such honour and glory as were consistent with justice,[5] for he had heard much good of him. Geyza I. (1074-1077).

[1] Lambert of Hersfeld, 1074, p. 198, and the authorities there cited in the note

[2] "A majoribus patriæ tuæ cognoscere potes, regnum Ungariæ S. R. ecclesiæ proprium est, a rege Stephano olim b. Petro cum omni jure et potestate sua oblatum et devote traditum. . . . Jus et honorem S. Petri, quantum ad te, imminuisti et alienasti, dum ejus regnum a rege Teutonicorum in beneficium, sicut audivimus, suscepisti." Ep. ii. 13, October 1074. *Cf.* ii. 63.

[3] II. 44, January 10, 1075.

[4] II. 63, March 1075.

[5] "Desiderantes tibi cum justitia, quæcumque sunt honoris et gloriæ." *Ib.*

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"We believe you know," he continued, "that, like other most glorious kingdoms, that of Hungary ought to remain free, and not be subject to the king of any other kingdom, but only to the holy and universal mother, the Roman Church, whose subjects are treated as sons and not as slaves. . . . Since the power is in your hands, we exhort you to have a care for religion and the churches, and to obey our legates in such a way that you may reap benefit in this life and the next."[1]

Though in this letter to Geyza, whom here, as always, he only calls duke, Gregory salutes him as king *de facto*, still he did not forget the interests of Solomon. He laboured to make peace between the two on the basis of Solomon's being allowed to hold the small portion of Hungary then in his possession.[2] With regard to the whole kingdom, he maintained that Providence had taken it away from him for presuming to hold it of Henry and not of the Holy See.

Ladislaus I. (1077-1095).

Geyza (†April 15, 1077) held the sceptre of Hungary only for a few years, and was succeeded by his brother St. Ladislaus. It would appear that at first the newly elected king only communicated with the Pope by letters, and those, too, not very explicit. At any rate, having occasion to write to Neemia, archbishop of Gran, or Strigonia, Gregory bade him, along with his fellow-bishops and the notables of the country, approach Ladislaus, and recommend him "to make his position (*suam voluntatem*) and his attitude towards the Apostolic See more plainly known to us by means of suitable envoys." At the same time, he undertook to support the king, to his own greater good and to that of his country, with the weight of the apostolic authority.[3]

[1] II. 63.
[2] Viz., Presburg, whither he had retired. *Cf.* ii. 70, April 1075.
[3] IV. 25, June 1077.

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Ladislaus hastened to assure the Pope of his devotion towards him,[1] and proved it in a practical way by giving his protection to such as were fighting the battle of the Church, and had fled into his country as exiles from Germany.[2]

In his letters to Ladislaus, as to his predecessors, Gregory did not lose an opportunity of impressing upon him to be ever just, to protect the widow, the orphan, and the pilgrim, and to guard the Church.[3] The king would appear to have taken the advice of the Pope to heart. Already great in body, "with hands and feet as large as those of a lion," he became great in soul, and was called "by all his people the holy king."[4] The reputation of his valour and holiness spread all over Europe, and it is asserted[5] that he was asked both by Pope Urban II. and the people of the West to lead the first Crusade. If nothing else, death at least (1095) prevented his complying with this request.

If Gregory's "apostolic authority" did not avail for anything more, it humanised the kings of Hungary, and did much for the independence of their country.

Bohemia.

In the documents which chronicle the reigns of Henry IV. and of Gregory VII., there may frequently be read the name of Vratislav II., duke of Bohemia. He and his wild

[1] "Sicut fidelium tuorum crebra relatione cognovimus itemque ipsum, nostris attestantibus, ratum habemus, excellentia tua ad serviendum b. Petro . . . parata est." VI. 29, March 21, 1079.

[2] *Ib.* [3] *Ib.*

[4] See the thirteenth century *Life* of Ladislaus (c. 6), ap. *Acta SS.*, June 27, vii. 284 ff., ed. Palmé. Vambéry, *Hungary*, p. 110 f., says that Gregory, having called on Ladislaus to submit to his supremacy, was told by the king that he was ready to recognise him as his spiritual father, "but would not subordinate the independence of his realm to anybody or anything." Where Vambéry obtained this item of information I am wholly unable to state. I cannot find it.

[5] By Bonfini (fifteenth century), c. 31. His *Rerum Hungaricæ Decadæ* furnish the longer *Life* of St. Ladislaus in the *Acta SS.*

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followers[1] fought on many a battle-field in Germany and Hungary in behalf of their liege lord Henry. Nor was it any concern of theirs whether he was under the ban of the Church or not. For many years, however, Gregory remained on good terms with Vratislav, as is shown by his letters relating to the duke's brother, Jaromir, which we have already quoted.[2] In April 1075 we find him begging "the serenity of Vratislav's nobility" to have compassion on his nephew Frederick (who afterwards became patriarch of Aquileia), and to let him have the inheritance left him by his father, or some other satisfactory one. He asks the duke to listen to him, both because Frederick is of his own flesh and blood, and because appeal is made to him in the name of St. Peter.[3] Frederick afterwards showed his gratitude towards Gregory for his efforts in his behalf by his devotion to him and to his cause—devotion which he was to prove with his life.[4]

Gregory refuses to recognise the liturgy in Slavonic.

As time went on, and word reached Gregory of the outrages inflicted on the Saxons and the papal party in Germany by the troops of Vratislav, that prince incurred at length the enmity of Gregory. He was blamed for communicating with excommunicated persons, and exhorted not to prefer his own honour to that of God, or money to justice. He was, moreover, told that his request that the liturgy (*divinum officium*) might be celebrated in the Slavonic tongue could not be granted. D'Avril is of opinion that a confusion in the mind of the Pope between

[1] How far the Bohemians were regarded with horror even by the Germans may be judged from this note of Bernald about them: "Fautores ejus (Henry IV.), ex Bœmia, homines libentius quam pecudes prædabantur, ut eos usque ad satietatem suæ libidini inhumanæ prostituerent, et postea inhumanius eos Cinocephalis devorandos venderent." *Chron.*, 1077.

[2] *Supra*, vi. p. 358 ff. [3] II. 71.

[4] *La questione del pat. di Venezia*, p. 74, by D. Tassini, Genova, 1906.

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the Arian Goths and the Slavs is the reason why he refused to concede what John VIII. and other Popes had already allowed.[1] But bearing in mind Gregory's action with regard to the Mozarabic rite, it is perhaps better to assign, as the motive of his action, his wish to strengthen the unity of the Church. At any rate, he says nothing from which the former reason may be gathered. He writes: "When one reflects on the matter, it seems clear that it is not without reason that Almighty God has willed that the sacred scriptures should be obscure in parts, for fear lest, if they were completely clear to all, they might not be appreciated, or might even be despised; or again, wrongly interpreted by mediocre minds, they might lead men into error." Then, briefly unfolding the idea of the development of doctrine, he continued: "It is no argument to the contrary that some pious men have tolerated or permitted to pass what in all simplicity the people have asked them. The primitive Church allowed many things which, with the development of Christianity, have in process of time been amended by the holy Fathers after careful examination."[2]

Although Vratislav remained faithful to Henry, and even received a kingly crown from him (1086), he obeyed the commands of the Pope with regard to the use of the Slavonic tongue in the liturgy.

Dalmatia.

Zvonimir (Demetrius or Sunimir), the last real king of Dalmatia and Croatia, was the son-in-law of Béla I. of Hungary; and after his death, owing to a disputed succession, his country passed into the hands of Béla's son, St. Ladislaus. He himself, however, to strengthen his position, had taken the precaution to acknowledge the Pope as his

[1] *S. Cyrille et S. Méthode*, p. 222 n. *Cf. supra*, iii. p. 242 f.

[2] "Primitiva ecclesia multa dissimulaverit, quæ a sanctis patribus postinodum, firmata christianitate et religione crescente, subtili examinatione correcta sunt." VII. 11, January 1080.

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suzerain (1076).[1] He experienced the benefit of being Gregory's vassal during the rebellion of Wezelin, which seemingly came to naught. How far the rebel's failure was due to the Pope cannot be stated, but no doubt the moral support he gave to the king was not without its effect. "We are exceedingly astonished," wrote Gregory to Wezelin, "that, after having long since promised to be a vassal to St. Peter and to us, you attempt now to rise up against him whom the apostolical authority has appointed king of Dalmatia. We, therefore, in the name of St. Peter, prohibit you to take arms against that king, because, whatever you do against him, you do against the Holy See itself. If you have any grounds of complaint, you should ask justice of us, and wait for our decision; otherwise, know that we will draw against thee the sword of St. Peter to punish thy audacity, and the temerity of all those who shall favour thee in this enterprise."[2]

Poland and Russia, Boleslaus II. of Poland.

Some fifteen years before Gregory became Pope, Boleslaus II., surnamed the Bold, succeeded his father Casimir[3] as duke of Poland (1058–1081). Of this prince Dunham says with much truth: "Before his expedition to Russia (1076), he was the model of sovereigns, . . . afterwards he was the disgrace of human nature."[4] Whilst he was still a creditable prince, he entered into communication with Gregory, and sent him presents. When thanking him for his kindness, the Pope urged him to co-operate with the legates he was sending him in putting the Church

[1] Ep. vii. 4 speaks of "eum, quem in Dalmatia regem auctoritas apostolica constituit." *Cf.* Lucius, *De regno Dalmat.*, ii. x. p. 85.

[2] VII. 4, October 1079. I have used the translation of Gosselin, *The Power of the Pope*, ii. 59.

[3] *Cf. supra*, v. p. 242 f.

[4] *History of Poland*, pp. 43 and 44. The thirteenth century *Life* of St. Stanislaus, whom Boleslaus afterwards killed, says (c. 6) his great virtues were equalled by his equally great vices. Ap. *Acta SS.*, Maii 7, ii. pp. 191–201, ed. Palmé.

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in Poland on a more satisfactory basis. He pointed out that the number of bishops in his country was too small, and that, through the want of a metropolitan, the few who were there were not under proper discipline. In the light of the fact that death might overtake him at any time, Boleslaus was urged to lead a good life, and to restore the money which he had taken from the king of the Russians[1] (Dmitri Isiaslaf, the son of Jaroslaf, king of Kief).

Isiaslaf of Kief.

On the death of Jaroslaf the Great, or the Wise (†1054), under whom Kief reached the height of its renown, and became the rival of Constantinople, his sons began to quarrel among themselves. "Through cupidity,"[2] Swatoslaf induced another of his brothers, Wsewolod, to join him in attacking their eldest brother Isiaslaf, who was their overlord, and ruled at Kief. Their undertaking was successful, and Isiaslaf had to fly from his capital (1073). In his exile, Isiaslaf devoted himself to obtaining allies against his rebellious brothers. He appealed both to Henry IV.[3] and to the Pope, to whom he sent his son Japorolla (1075), and to whom he offered his kingdom as a fief. In replying to the exiled king, Gregory signified his acceptance of his offer, in the hope that Blessed Peter, "by his intercession with God," would guard him and his kingdom; would bring it about that he should hold his kingdom till his death, and would obtain for him life everlasting. He promised, moreover, that he would co-operate with him in whatever he wished as far as ever he could consistently with the claims of justice.[4]

With his letters Gregory sent legates. The result of their representations, and of the Pope's words, was that

[1] II. 73, April 1075. *Cf.* Nestor, *Chron.*, c. 67.

[2] Nestor, *ib.*

[3] Lambert, *Ann.*, 1075, p. 202. Henry's own troubles prevented him from according the desired help. *Cf.* Sigebert, *Chron.*, 1073.

[4] II. 74, April 1075.

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Boleslaus, who had previously plundered the exiled monarch, now came to his assistance, and Isiaslaf was re-established at Kief in July 1077.[1] He died fighting on behalf of one of the very brothers who had driven him from his kingdom (October 1078). Except for what he says of his tall figure and handsome face, Nestor, in his panegyric of him, might be speaking of Gregory: "His moral character was irreproachable; he loathed injustice and loved justice; he was free from all double-dealing, was kind, and rendered not evil for evil."[2]

Boleslaus II. of Poland and St. Stanislaus.

Elated by his success in restoring Isiaslaf, and seeing the difficulties in which Henry IV. was involved, Boleslaus severed the slender cord which held him in subjection to the empire, and proclaimed himself king[3] (December 1077). He would appear also, about the same time, to have cut the bonds which bound him to his Creator. Speaking of him after this Russian expedition, Dunham notes that "his character—outwardly at least—had changed; his industry, his love of justice, his regal qualities had fled, and he was become the veriest debauchee of his dominions."[4] His excesses, however, were opposed by St. Stanislaus, bishop of Cracow, who at length had recourse to excommunication and interdict against him. Unable to overawe the courageous bishop, Boleslaus with his own hand[5] (1079) slew him whilst he was saying Mass.[6]

[1] Nestor, c. 69.

[2] *Ib.*, c. 70. *Cf. The World's Hist.*, ed. Helmolt, vol. v. (South-Eastern and Eastern Europe), p. 456 ff. (London, 1907), though in this matter of Isiaslaf it is not quite accurate.

[3] Lambert, an. 1077, p. 284. [4] *Hist. of Poland*, p. 41.

[5] "Martinus Gallus," *Chron. Polon.*, i. c. 27. He calls the saint "traitor," we presume in the same sense as the murderers of St. Thomas of Canterbury applied the epithet to him. "Neque enim traditorem episcopum excusamus, neque regem vindicantem sic se turpiter commendamus."

[6] So at least say thirteenth and fourteenth century chronicles. *Cf. Chron. Polono-Silesiacum*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xix. p. 559; *Annales*

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News of this atrocious crime soon reached Gregory. At first he refused to give it credence. Assured at length of its truth, he at once, we are told, excommunicated Boleslaus, put his kingdom under an interdict, and declared him deposed. For some considerable time Boleslaus braved the papal ban, but at last was forced to leave Poland, and to fly into Hungary. Here he is said to have gone mad, and after his death to have been devoured by dogs. His brother Ladislaus, who succeeded him, lost no time in sending an embassy to acquaint Gregory with what had happened. Understanding that Boleslaus was dead, the interdict was removed; and to further that reform of the Church of Poland on which he was intent, the Pope consecrated one Lambert for the See of Cracow[1] (1082).

Capituli Cracoviensis, *ib.*, p. 588, etc. Contemporaries unfortunately say very little of St. Stanislaus. Most of what is told of him rests, as far as we know, on authors who did not write till at least 150 years after his death, and hence cannot be regarded as of first-rate authority.

[1] This paragraph rests on the Chronicle of Jan Dlugosz (Dugloss) or Longinus (1415–1486), c. 12 n. 157 ff., ap. *Acta SS.*, Maii 7, ii. p. 201 ff. *Cf.* Dunham, *Hist. of Poland*, p. 42; and Morfill, *Poland*, p. 33. He notes that Gregory did not ratify the title of king which Boleslaus assumed, so that Poland remained a simple duchy till 1295. That Boleslaus died in exile in Hungary (1081) is certain from the *Annales Polonorum*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xix.

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CHAPTER XII.

GREGORY THE MAN; HIS AIMS AND THEIR REALISATION.

Gregory the just, the fearless, and the energetic.

TO those who, through the medium of the preceding pages, have seen something of the great deeds of Gregory VII., there may come a desire to know more of the inner character of their doer, more of this just man and devout servant of God.[1] They will have gathered from his words[2] and his works that he was of the number of those who would sooner see the heavens fall than that justice should miscarry. They will not require to be reminded that he was fearless;[3] nor, when they think of him as concerned about arctic Iceland and burning Africa, about Ireland in the Western Ocean, and the lands of the rising sun, will they need to be told that he was energetic, or that day and night his busy brain[4] and pen were ever at work.

But they may be tempted to think that, in his hunger and thirst after justice, he was simply concerned that he himself might get his fill of it. It may not, therefore, be out of place to note that, if "he was anxious that the rights and dignities of the Roman Church should be preserved," he professed to be desirous that "by its foresight and authority the privileges of its members, *i.e.*, of the

[1] Gregory was a doer of great deeds in the supernatural as well as in the natural order. He was a worker of miracles, as we learn from the weighty testimony of St. Anselm of Lucca: "Nam miracula quæ per eum operatus est Dominus, alia quidem vidimus, alia ab idoneis testibus audivimus." *Vit. S. Anselm.*, p. 917.

[2] *Supra*, vi. p. 32 f. [3] *Supra*, *ib.*, p. 33. [4] Ep. viii. 54.

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other churches, should be equally preserved."[1] If, in working to safeguard the liberties of Hungary,[2] he might be said to be toiling to defend his own suzerainty, the same cannot be said of "the enmities of princes and nobles which he had to endure" for his efforts on behalf of Venetian independence.[3] Men felt that he was possessed of justice, and came to him for it; and they came to him with equal confidence whether they were of the lower ranks of the clergy[4] or of the higher orders of the nobility.[5]

If he was ready to pour out his life's blood for the Church, he was also prepared to shed it for the good of the empire;[6] and if he did not hesitate to send others where danger lay, he proclaimed that he was willing to go east[7] or west[8] at duty's call.

We have said that he was prepared to see the heavens fall rather than that justice should not be done. But when, in his great struggle with the empire, this frail little man[9] began to see, as it were, the very foundations of human society commencing to quake beneath the violence of attack and defence, we need not wonder that we occasionally detect a slight hesitation on his part in pushing matters to extremities—a hesitation for which he was

Gregory and Henry IV.

[1] Ep. iv. 6. [2] *Supra*, p. 198 ff. [3] Ep. ii. 39.

[4] I. 67; ii. 10; iv. 20.

[5] I. 50. Epp. coll. 31, the appeal of a bishop.

[6] Epp. coll. 17: "Ipsam sanguinis effusionem pro libertate S. ecclesiæ et salute imperii pura et sincera intentione subire non dubitemus." [7] *Supra*, p. 65.

[8] Speaking of Alfonso VI. of Leon, who had treated one of his legates with scant courtesy, he wrote: "Non gravem existimaremus laborem, nos ad Hispaniam proficisci et adversum eum, quemadmodum christianæ religionis inimicum, dura et aspera moliri." VIII. 2.

[9] "Vile quidem ferrum, tamen edomat omne metallum;

. . . . . .

Hunc, qui cuncta domat, Sisiphi mensura coarctat,"

is the lanugage of St. Peter Damian, ap. *P. L.*, t. 145, p. 966, No. 194.

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vigorously challenged by the Saxons. His chief adversary (Henry IV.) was bold and unscrupulous; some even regarded him as "a modern Nero,"[1] and described him as "the most criminal man on the earth."[2] He was the centre to which were attracted the reckless, the daring, and the irreligious. With their aid, it was his aim "to subject to himself the Roman Church as he had subjected the other churches"[3] of the empire. In dealing, then, with such a man, Gregory stood sometimes appalled at the consequences of his acts, and hesitated to strike the next blow. Still, when his conscience told him that the time to strike could be deferred no longer, he struck with all his might, and braved the consequences. When he beheld in vision Simon Magus lording it over the barque of Peter, he rushed in, and ceased not to wrestle with him till he had bound him hand and foot.[4] Here we have typified the one aim of Gregory's life, which was to purify the Church. We have seen him, indeed, aiming to extend the temporal suzerainty of the Roman Church. This he did, not from any tangible advantage brought to him by this overlordship, which was little more than nominal, but from a wish to increase the prestige of the Church and his influence for good in those countries of which he was the suzerain. The great ones of the world had made the Church their bondwoman. But Gregory, knowing that it could not do any good among the people if it were not independent, strove for that reason to make it their mistress. Further, in condemning investiture, he had not in view the withdrawing from their sovereigns the temporal power wielded by ecclesiastics and the subjecting of it to himself, but

[1] Bernried, c. 6.

[2] Haimo, in his *Life* of William of Hirschau, c. 26: "Omnium quos terra sustinuit flagitiosissimus."

[3] Bernried, cc. 60, 61.

[4] Bernried, c. 25.

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simply the rendering of the episcopate completely spiritually independent. It is true that this action of his was almost as destructive of the feudal system as the growth of the communes; but since he restored the election of the bishops to the people, his decree was far more calculated to increase the local influence of the people than his own.[1]

Gregory not a man of blood and iron.

With all Gregory's yearning for justice, he was not a hard man. He was not a man to stand rigidly by his bond, to exact his full pound of flesh. His letters show that the troubles of his friends touched him to the quick, that as a good shepherd he was distressed when any of his flock were in difficulties, and that a cry for help always attracted his sympathetic attention.[2] Full of paternal feeling, it was his wish to care for all, even for the very least Christian.[3] He would not even have anyone treated with discourtesy, still less with cruelty.[4] When on one occasion he saw the bleeding corpse of a monk who had been a pronounced opponent of the pontifical cause, and who had been assassinated, he tenderly covered it with his own cope, and himself sang the Mass for the repose of the soul of the murdered man.[5] He was ever pleading for the poor, and in his solicitude for the helpless we hear him anathematising wreckers.[6]

Although, as we have seen, Gregory could at times brandish the terrible weapon of excommunication, and at

[1] *Cf.* Birot, *Le Saint Empire*, p. 87.

[2] Epp. i. 20, 23, 47, 50; ii. 44; vii. 20; viii. 28, etc.

[3] I. 53. "Omnibus debitores simus" (ii. 72, 31).

[4] "Non respondere vero aut in longum tempus responsa differre, despectioni et, propter prolongata pericula eorum, qui sub censura sunt, crudelitati imputatur." I. 16.

[5] Hugh of Flavigny, *Chron.*, ii. p. 335 f. Hence Voigt (p. 102 n.) is sceptical about the assertion in the *Chron. Cas.* (iii. 27) that Gregory, as Archdeacon Hildebrand, approved of the severity of an abbot who had put out the eyes of certain rebellious monks.

[6] Synod of March 1078.

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times even strike with it, he did not himself use it anything like as often as would seem to be popularly supposed; nor did he approve of its frequent use.[1] On the contrary, he was ever anxious for peace[2] and honourable compromise,[3] and ever wishful to be merciful.[4] So much so, that, if some said he was cruel, others declared he was too pitiful.[5]

Gregory a promoter of learning, and a spiritual director.

Amid the bustle and din of arms in which Gregory was compelled to pass most of his pontificate, he found time to promote learning. Not only did he encourage literary effort, and refuse to accept as bishops men who lacked learning,[6] but he passed a decree in synod that "all bishops must see to it that literature is taught in their churches."[7] Such a man was naturally an opponent of superstition.[8]

Though Gregory was compelled to lead a most strenuous exterior life, he was nevertheless a man of prayer.[9] He had a tender devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary, whose image is said to have shed tears before him when he was in difficulties, and to have smiled upon him in his successes.[10] Acting as spiritual director to the Great Countess, he exhorted her to have a great love of the Blessed Sacrament of the altar, and to have great confidence in Mary.[11] To her intercession he attributed his recovery from fever;[12]

[1] II. vi. Rodolico (*Note Paleograf. e diplomat. sul privil. pontif.*, p. 29) observes that Gregory VII. has this "no small title to honour," that, in his formula of excommunication, he speaks neither of Judas nor the devil, but generally says simply "in extremo examine districte ultioni subjaceat." This formula continued to be used till the days of Innocent III.

[2] I. 18; ii. 26, 71; iii. 7; vi. 16. [3] III. 10.

[4] II. 43, 61. [5] I. 77. [6] VIII. 25. *Cf.* i. 52.

[7] "Ut omnes episcopi artes litterarum in suis ecclesiis doceri faciant." Synod of November 1078, ap. Jaffé, *Reg.*, vi. 5 *b*.

[8] VII. 21. [9] *Cf. supra*, p. 22.

[10] Bernried, c. 23. "Erat ei familiare diverticulum ad B. Mariæ . . . iconem, . . . ut ante eam orando procideret et plorando cor suum effunderet."

[11] Ep. i. 47. [12] Bernried, c. 33.

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and it was from her that he learnt that an attack of spiritual dryness which he experienced on one occasion was due to what ordinary men would call an innocent enough familiarity with his niece. To divert her sorrowing thoughts from his sufferings, he had on one occasion played with her necklace, and asked her if she would like to get married.[1] A conscience, the lustre of which could be dimmed by such a trifle, could only belong to a saint; and in consonance with this estimate of his character, we read of the power of working miracles being attributed to him.[2] At any rate Gregory's piety was solid and practical. He recognised no repentance as genuine which did not bring forth worthy fruits of a change of life.[3] His piety was practical also. He knew that human means must not be neglected if human ends were to be accomplished. He had no hesitation himself in drawing the sword to put down violence. He would have tyrants attacked "by arms both carnal and spiritual."[4] He considered that for the love of God to help the wretched and the oppressed was of more value than prayers and fasts; for "with the apostle he did not hesitate to put true charity before every other virtue."[5]

The champion of public order and morality.

To the plunderer of the priest, the poor, or the trader, Gregory proved himself a formidable opponent. Whether the offender was a king or a noble, he did not spare him, but endeavoured to make him submit to restitution or punishment.[6] By his vigorous defence of the Church's laws with regard to matrimony, he did much to preserve and extend that high standard of sexual morality to which

[1] Such is the story as told by Bernried, c. 32. [2] *Ib.*, c. 35.

[3] See his denunciation of "sham repentance" in the synod of March 1080, ap. *Reg.*, vii. 14 *a*. *Cf.* vii. 10.

[4] Epp. coll. 34. [5] Ep. i. 50.

[6] See his splendid letter (ii. 5) against Philip of France for plundering merchants. *Cf.* ii. 20, 22.

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the Western nations long aspired; and he has a title to the gratitude of all who realise what the strict observance of the marriage laws means to the good of the individual and of the community. He forbade kings and nobles to marry relations;[1] for, as he truly said: "The nobility of the race is destroyed when children are begotten of illicit unions."[2] The breaches of the matrimonial law which he opposed in the individual he opposed also in communities. English, Irish, and Genoese were in turn upbraided by him for laxity in this direction.[3] Evidently there was not any beneficial influence on European morals in his age to be compared with that wielded by this democratic[4] Pontiff. For it must be remembered that his influence was exerted not merely by letter and by legate, but personally, as it is by the Popes of to-day, on the crowds who, he tells us,[5] flocked every year to Rome.

The *Dictatus Papæ.*

There are, however, authors who, while "recognising the necessity of emancipating the Church from the political power," find their interest in his "salutary reform" lessened, and their judgment terrified by "the exaggerated programme of papal infallibility and supremacy which Gregory put forward."[6] It is no part of our object to decide whether the programme of papal infallibility and supremacy put forth, whether by S. Gregory I., S. Gregory VII., or Pius X., is or is not exaggerated, but we have to note that many who consider the claims of Gregory VII. extravagant

[1] VIII. 3, to Alfonso VI. of Leon; vii. 9, to the Marquis Boniface; and ii. 3, to William VI., count of Poitiers.

[2] II. 3. [3] Epp. coll. 1 for Irish and English; i. 48 for Genoese.

[4] III. 21; viii. 25, shows him democratic in his choice of bishops. Being democratic did not prevent him from being conservative in the best sense of that term. His principle was: "Decentius atque convenientius decernitur, destructa restruere, et ad gradum suum collapsa reducere, quam in dilatandis vel noviter ædificandis operam dare." VIII. 29.

[5] VIII. 24. *Cf.* viii. 25. [6] Gregorovius, *Rome*, iv. pt. i. p. 202.

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are influenced by the twenty-seven curt propositions of the so-called *Dictatus Papæ*.[1] Though Gregorovius, for instance, allows that their author "is doubtful," he regards them as "enunciating clearly and plainly . . . the aims of Gregory." But, certainly in the bald and crude form in which they are set forth, they would never, in their entirety, be acknowledged by any theologian as Catholic doctrine, and it is the opinion of the greater number of the best historians, whether Catholic or not, that they are not the production of Pope Gregory VII. Though, as we have already pointed out, some of the assertions of that Pontiff made in the heat of the contest with Henry IV. might be interpreted to cover many extravagant propositions,[2] Gregory nowhere categorically sets forth "that he alone had the right to wear the imperial regalia (n. 8); that his name was the only one which should be mentioned in the prayers of the Church (*in eclesiis recitetur*, n. 10); or that a canonically consecrated Pope becomes holy by the merits of St. Peter (n. 23)." With the memory of Benedict IX. before him, Gregory was not so foolish as even to think the last proposition; and, with his ideas of justice and ecclesiastical custom, he was not the person to have enunciated the other two. Though he did maintain that circumstances might arise to justify his declaring that king or emperor had lost his right of ruling his subjects, it is incorrect to say that he regarded it as a broad general truth that "it was lawful for the Pope to depose emperors" (n. 12). Many of the other propositions, indeed, had in substance, if not quite in the unconditional style of the *Dictatus*, been proclaimed long before his time, and are accepted to-day as simple Catholic

[1] Printed by Jaffé in the *Regest.*, ii. 55 *a*.

[2] *E.g.*, "Quod si sancta sedes apostolica, divinitus sibi collata principali potestate, spiritualia decernens dijudicat, cur non et sæcularia?" IV. 2. *Cf.* viii. 21; and "Si enim cœlestia et spiritualia sedes b. Petri solvit et judicat, quanto magis terrena et sæcularia." IV. 24. *Cf.* iv. 23.

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belief. It is and always has been the belief of Catholics that the *Roman Church, i.e.*, the See of St. Peter and his successors, owes its origin to God (n. 1); that consequently it cannot err (n. 22); that those only are to be accounted Catholics who are in spiritual agreement with it (n. 26); that the Pope cannot be judged by anyone (n. 19); and that the more important causes (*causæ majores*) must be referred to it (n. 21).

However, as Gregory was no innovator,[1] but in all he said and did ever supported himself by the words and examples of those who had gone before him,[2] we may, with the majority of the best authorities, non-Catholic and Catholic, safely deny to Gregory the authorship of the *Dictatus Papæ*.[3] They may be dismissed with the words of Bowden: "The propositions are not mentioned by any writer of Gregory's own age, or of that which immediately followed it: not even by Benno, or any other of those foul-mouthed and infuriated opponents of Gregory and his cause, who could scarcely have failed, had they been acquainted with it, to inveigh in the strongest terms against a document so extraordinary, and so manifestly open to censure. . . . Gregory does not, in any of his numerous epistles, urge on any of his numerous correspondents the reception of these "Dictatus," or even allude.

[1] "Gregory was not the inventor nor the first propounder of these doctrines; they had been long before a part of medieval Christianity, interwoven with its most vital doctrines." Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire*, p. 154. *Cf.* Montalembert, *Monks*, vi. 477 f.; Rocquain, *La papauté*, p. 108; Jager's *Introduction* to Voigt, p. xvi. *Cf.* ep. Greg., iii. 10.

[2] He declared that in its decrees the Roman Church "a tramite sanctorum non recedit." I. 12. *Cf.* ii. 31. He followed the canons: ii. 4; iii. 10; iv. 6; vi. 34.

[3] Some are disposed to consider them as the work of a friend of Gregory, others of a foe. *Cf.* Bowden, ii. p. 50 n.; Hergenroether, *Hist. de l'Église*, iii. 570; Montalembert, *Monks*, vi. 468 n.; Voigt, p. 380; Hefele, *Conciles*, vi. 530.

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in the slightest manner, to their existence. We may, therefore, it seems, in accordance with the most learned critics of ecclesiastical history . . . unhesitatingly decide against their authenticity."[1]

The measure of Gregory's success.

In seeking a reply to the question as to how far Gregory was successful in the work he set himself to accomplish, we must, we believe, reject the view that "he did not succeed in his end, at least in the investiture quarrel, because he knew not how to measure his blows, and because he wished to impose upon the world ideas that were too absolute."[2] In the successful treatment of a loathsome disease, greater credit is due to the bold and skilful surgeon who vigorously plies the lancet,[3] even to the great temporary distress of his patient, than to those who afterwards dress the wounds he has made, and assist at their final healing. Urban II., Calixtus II., and others merely reaped what Gregory had sown, or quietly promoted the closing of the health-giving cuts given by that immortal Pontiff, whom, in parting, we may hail with Gibbon "as a great man, a second Athanasius, in a more fortunate age of the Church."[4]

[1] *Gregory VII.*, ii. 50. [2] Robert, *Hist. du Pape Calixte II.*, p. xxiii.

[3] Since writing the above I have found this simile already applied to Gregory VII. by the theologian Rupert (abbot of Puy (†1135), the author of the *Chron. S. Laurentii Leod.*) in a fine poem on the Gregorian reformation published by Cauchie, *La querelle des invest.*, ii. p. 48 ff. :—

"Summus sacerdos, crimina persequens,
Aususque morbum pungere regium,
De sede Romana fugatus
Est, et in exilio sepultus."

Ib., p. 57.

It may be noted that to him also Henry IV. is Nero :—

"Nonne vides, ut nunc sedeat Symon (the antipope Guibert, or Clement),
Nerone fretus rege simillimo."

Ib.

[4] *The Decline and Fall*, c. 56, vol. iv. p. 80, n. 4, ed. 1825.

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B. VICTOR III.

A.D. 1086–1087.

Sources.—Considering that Victor, before he became Pope, had been one of the greatest abbots of Monte Cassino, it is not surprising that the principal authority for his biography should be its great Chronicle,[1] written by Leo of Ostia[2] and Peter the Deacon. Leo brought the work down to 1075, and to the end of the 33rd chapter of the third book. The remaining chapters of that book, and the fourth book, telling of the events up to 1138, were added by Peter the Deacon, whose work is admitted to be inferior to that of Leo. A descendant of the counts of Tusculum, Peter was born about 1117, and was offered to the monastery of Monte Cassino at an early age. He soon developed literary habits, which were deepened when he was made librarian. With the rest of his brethren he seems to have turned to the empire rather than to the Church. He died apparently not long after the year 1140. His worth as an historian is lessened by an occasional want of truthfulness, though his work is generally bright and interesting. Short accounts of Victor are also to be found in Peter's *Liber de Viris illustribus Casin.*[3] (n. 18), and in his *De ortu et obitu justorum Casin.*[4] (n. 59).

Most of Victor's letters have perished. One is to be found ap. *P. L.*, t. 149. The first letter which is there assigned to him really belongs to Victor II. Owing to a printer's mistake, the

[1] *Chron. Cas.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, vii., and thence in *P. L.*, t. 173, and ap. *R. I. SS.*, iv.

[2] *Cf. supra*, vol. v. p. 157. [3] Ap. *R. I. SS.*, vi.; and *P. L.*, *ib.*

[4] Ap. Mai, *Script. Vet.*, t. vi. p. 278; and *P. L.*, *ib.*

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letter there begun on p. 962 is continued, not on p. 963, but on p. 965.

Modern Works.—Nearly all that is known about Victor III. has been set forth by Mabillon in his *Acta Bened.*,[1] and by Tosti, at the close of the first vol. of his *Storia di Monte Cassino*, ed. Naples, 1842.

No successor to Gregory VII.

FOR nearly a year after the death of Gregory VII. the Church remained without a head. It was not that his ideas had been interred with him at Salerno. It was, in fact, owing to the vigorous manner in which they lived after him that the Church was so long a widow. In Rome, in north Italy, and in Germany, they were indeed opposed even to the shedding of blood by the antipope Guibert, by the simoniacal bishops of Lombardy, and by King Henry IV. But they were upheld in the Eternal City by the consul Cencius, and by the people of the Trastevere, who have ever been the most devoted to the Papacy of all the inhabitants of Rome.[2] The "Lombard bulls" were kept in check by the Tuscan sword of the Countess Matilda, and by the eloquence and prayers of the papal vicar, St. Anselm of Lucca;[3] and the tyranny of Henry was prevented from running riot by the Saxon party of Herman of Luxembourg. In the midst of the general strife and slaughter it was almost impossible for the cardinals to meet for the election of a Pope.[4]

The election of Desiderius.

On his death-bed Gregory had named three or four men

[1] Thence ap. *P. L.*, t. 149, p. 917.

[2] *Chron. Cas.*, iii. 66, 68.

[3] *Vit. S. Anselm.*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 148, p. 917. *Cf. ib.*, p. 922. Bernald, an. 1086, writes: "Post obitum . . . Gregorii fideles S. Petri contra tirannidem Heinrici . . . multum incitavit (Anselmus)."

[4] Bernald, *ib.* "Hoc tempore multæ cedes, prædæ et incendia facta sunt inter fautores Heinrici et fideles S. Petri. Propter eamdem discordiam nondum sedes apostolica legitimum pastorem habere potuit."

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whom he regarded as fit and proper to succeed him, and of these he had singled out Cardinal Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino, as the most suitable.[1] He had come to this conclusion because he was near at hand, and because he had always had great influence with the Normans, who at least gave to the Holy See what little concern they could spare from the close prosecution of their own interests. The eyes of all the leading men in the Church consequently turned to the abbot, who had immediately, on Gregory's death, showed himself very energetic in taking steps to provide him with a successor. But when the cardinals and bishops straightway began to remind him of Gregory's views in his regard, and implored him to take upon himself the burden of the Papacy, he declared that, while ready to help the Roman Church in every way he could, he would not become Pope himself.[2]

Whilst these negotiations were going on, that is, seemingly in the early summer (1085), the way was being paved for an election in Rome. The death of Gregory had greatly elated the partisans of the antipope. But their joy was destined to be brief; for the Romans forced Guibert to quit the city and return to Ravenna.[3] Thereupon Desiderius hastened to Rome with two of the Norman princes, met some of the cardinals there, and endeavoured to secure the co-operation of the Countess Matilda in forwarding the election of a new Pope. Discovering, however, that all were anxious to force the Papacy upon himself, he returned to Monte Cassino. His flight and the summer heats put off the possibility of the election's taking place till the autumn, and even then nothing could be done, as the electors were

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 167.

[2] "Ad hæc (the demands that he should be Pope) ille, papatum quidem se suscipere obstinatissima responsione recusavit," etc. *Chron. Cas.*, iii. 65.

[3] Bernald, 1085, p. 1392.

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resolved that Desiderius should be Pope, and he was equally determined not to be.[1]

At length, after nearly a year had elapsed from the death of Gregory, a number of cardinals and bishops assembled in Rome (about April 5, 1086), and commanded Desiderius to come to the city with the bishops and cardinals who were staying with him, in order that they might all deliberate on the needs of the Roman Church. The abbot obeyed the summons, and once more found himself besieged with requests that he would accept the burden of the Papacy. With his more than ordinary Benedictine love of peace,[2] Desiderius firmly rejected their petition. Overcome by his humble perseverance, the electors gathered together in the deaconry of St. Lucy,[3] near the Septizonium, and promised they would choose the man of his selection. He accordingly named Otho, bishop of Ostia. But when to this choice it was objected that translations of bishops were against the canons, the assembly could contain itself no longer. Clergy and people threw themselves on Desiderius, hurried him off to the adjoining Church of St. Lucy, and elected him Pope under the name of Victor (May 24). Struggling in vain, the red cope (*cappa rubea*), which distinguished the Popes, was put upon him; but he would not assume the other papal insignia.[4]

Desiderius returns to Monte Cassino, 1086.

But immediate trouble was in store for the unhappy, peace-loving abbot who had thus been forced upon the papal throne. He had no sooner made his election known to the world, declaring that he would act in accordance with the decrees of the Fathers, and confirming Gregory's

[1] *Chron. Cas.*, iii. c. 65.

[2] "Desiderius vero qui jam dudum decreverat vitam suam *in quiete* transigere . . . cœpit omnimodis refutare." *Ib.*, c. 66.

[3] S. Lucia *in VII. Vias*. *Cf. L. P.*, ii. 40, n. 49.

[4] "Cappam quidem rubeam induebat, albam vero numquam ei potuerunt induere." *Ib.*

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action against Henry,[1] than he found himself exposed to the bitter hostility of the imperial prefect of Rome. This official had been taken prisoner by Robert Guiscard when he seized Rome, but had been liberated by his son and successor, Duke Roger, because he was annoyed that his candidate for the archiepiscopal See of Salerno had not been confirmed by Rome.[2] Taking possession of the Capitol, the prefect hired ruffians to persecute the Pope.[3] Unable to bear the annoyance, and unwilling to meet force with force, the Pope left Rome four days after his election, laid aside the cross and cope (*clamidis*) and the other pontifical insignia, refused, despite every argument, to resume them, and retired to Monte Cassino.[4] He had not, however, long enjoyed the quiet of his abbey before Jordan of Capua appeared before it with a large army. Knowing his enmity to Duke Roger, the cardinals had requested him to establish the authority of the new Pope in Rome by force. But he was induced to abandon his enterprise, partly by the entreaties of Victor, and partly by fear of the summer heats.[5]

Victor finally accepts the Papacy, March 1087.

This unsatisfactory state of affairs lasted for nearly another year. But about the first week in the March of 1087, those concerned for the welfare of the Church, and

[1] "Qui statim post electionem suam missis usquequaque literis se juxta decreta SS. Patrum declaravit incessurum. Judicium quoque . . . Gregorii . . . super Heinricum et omnes ejus fautores confirmavit." Bernold, 1087, p. 1395.

[2] Because, according to Hugh, archbishop of Lyons, the candidate (afterwards Alfanus II.), was a slave to ambition. "De manifestissima ambitione Alfanus convictus fuerat." *Cf.* his letter to Matilda, ap. Hugh of Flavigny, *Chron.*, ii. 339.

[3] *Chron. Cas.*, iii. 67. "Die noctuque cum aliquantis ære iniquo conductis in Capitolium contra eundem electum conveniens, persecutiones ei maximas intulit."

[4] *Ib.*

[5] *Ib.* "Partim deortatione ipsius electi, partim timore æstatis ulterius progredi nolens, reversus est."

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especially Desiderius, as papal vicar in those parts,[1] brought about the meeting of a council at Capua. To that assembly came not only Desiderius and the other cardinals who were true to the legitimate line of Popes, as well as a number of bishops, including Hugh, archbishop of Lyons, but also Cencius, "the consul of the Romans," with other Roman nobles, Jordan of Capua, and even Duke Roger with most of his nobles.[2] The adhesion of the last-named prince had possibly been secured by an undertaking that his candidate for the archbishopric of Salerno should be officially recognised by Rome.[3] However that may be, after the situation of the Church had been formally discussed, the great majority of the assembly, not taking any heed of the ambitious opposition of Hugh of Lyons,[4] turned to Desiderius, and implored him to resume the burden of the Papacy. For two days he held out against their earnest entreaties; but at length, on Palm Sunday (March 21), he yielded, and "confirmed the previous election by resuming the cross and the purple."[5]

The early career of Desiderius.

He who had thus most reluctantly but definitely decided to rank among the successors of St. Peter was a member of the illustrious family of the dukes of Benevento, and

[1] "Sub occasione eligendi Romanum pontificem concilium in Capua, sicut illarum partium apostolicus vicarius congregavit (Desiderius)." The letter of Hugh, *l.c.*, p. 340.

[2] *Chron. Cas.*, iii. 68.

[3] At any rate, Alfanus II. was consecrated by the Pope on the Palm Sunday of 1087, the very day on which he resumed the papal insignia. In the letter to the Countess Matilda, already several times quoted, in which Hugh, archbishop of Lyons, attempted to palliate his subsequent rebellious conduct, he suggests (p. 349) that this was done by Desiderius because he felt he could not fulfil his wishes and be Pope without the consent of Duke Roger. But these were the pleas of disappointed ambition trying to cover its nakedness.

[4] *Cf. infra*, p. 239 ff.

[5] *Chron. Cas.*, *l.c.* Hugh (*l.c.*) expresses the action of Desiderius as follows: "Dominica in palmis pluvialem ipse sibi imponit."

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was related to the princes of Salerno. Born in 1027, his early piety soon showed that "the nobility of his soul was greater than that of his birth." The death of his father enabled Dauferius, for that was the proper name of Desiderius, to carry out without great let or hindrance the design he had formed of abandoning the world. As the only hope of his race, his father had destined a splendid marriage for him. But the mind of the young man, now about twenty years of age, was set on other things, and he privately unfolded his wishes to a monk of his acquaintance. He was forced to act with secrecy, as his relatives were anxious to prevent him from entering the cloister.

After he had tried the youth for some time, the monk promised him his assistance. Leaving the city one evening, as though on a hunting expedition, Dauferius stopped before the church of St. Peter Major, and, committing his horse and sword to the charge of his attendants, entered the sacred building, as they supposed, for a few moments' prayer. Under cover of the darkness he contrived, unknown to them, to leave the church by another door, and to betake himself to the cell of a solitary. Furious at being tricked, his relations scoured the whole country. Discovering at length the object of their search, they tore his religious habit into shreds, clothed him once more in secular attire, and escorted him back to Benevento in triumph. After nearly a year's confinement, he contrived to escape to Salerno, and to secure the protection of his relative, Guaimar IV. Strong under that protection, he only agreed to leave the monastery of La Cava, to which he had withdrawn, and to return to Benevento, on condition that he should be allowed to become a monk in the famous monastery of St. Sophia. It was the abbot of this celebrated house who changed his name

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to Desiderius,[1] because, as he said, he was universally beloved.

Desiderius becomes abbot of Monte Cassino.

Whilst at Benevento, he was introduced to the notice of St. Leo IX. by Cardinals Humbert and Frederick, to whom he had been previously known (1053). The Pontiff soon became much attached to the amiable young monk, and often made him assist him at Mass.[2] When Leo returned to Rome after his defeat by the Normans, Desiderius betook himself to Salerno, already famous as the home of medicine, to recover the health of which his fastings and long vigils had deprived him. At Salerno he met the cleric Alfanus, who was to be its archbishop and the great ally of Gregory VII., and who was already distinguished for his skill in music and medicine. Desiderius soon acquired the greatest influence over Alfanus, and persuaded him to become a monk. So strongly did he feel the attraction of the charming character of Desiderius, that he declared he wished never to be separated from him.[3]

The peace of the retirement at St. Sophia, rendered doubly sweet by this mutual friendship, was rudely broken by the news that Pope Victor II. was coming into those parts (1055) to examine into the assassination of Guaimar IV. of Salerno (1052). Fearing lest some of his relations might be charged with complicity in the deed, Alfanus induced his friend to go with him to the Pope. Trusting that his medical knowledge would help him at the court of the Pope, he took with him his medical books and a number of

[1] *Chron. Cas.*, iii. 5. "Pro eo quod desiderabilis erat, tunc primum mutato ejus nomine, Desiderium appellari præcepit." In his shorter accounts of Desiderius, Peter would seem to imply that Desiderius left his spouse after having gone through the marriage ceremony with her. "In ipsis suis nuptiis sponsam suam relinquens." *De ortu*, etc. *Cf.* his *Liber de illust.*

[2] *Chron. Cas.*, iii. 7.

[3] "Seque a Desiderii latere nullo unquam modo, nullo umquam tempore assereret velle dividere." *Ib.*

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medicines.[1] Alfanus was not mistaken in his hopes, and the two friends soon acquired the greatest influence in the papal curia. Finding, however, that the Pope did not intend to move in the matter of Guaimar's death, they obtained leave from him to retire to Monte Cassino. Here they were warmly welcomed by the brethren, and once more gave themselves up to the enjoyment of monastic peace in that abode where it has so fully dwelt even to our own day.

Peter the Deacon has put on record a dream which Desiderius had at Monte Cassino whilst still a simple monk there. Behold! he seemed to be standing in the tower which was beside the chapter-house, and to be in the presence of St. Benedict, who was seated on a glorious throne. As he stood afraid to move, the saint made a gracious sign to him to come and sit by his side. Subsequent events, says Peter, showed the import of the vision; for Desiderius became abbot of the monastery, and practically renewed the whole of it during his period of office.[2]

By Pope Stephen (IX.) X. he was summoned to Rome (August 1057), and destined to go as his legate to Constantinople. That Pontiff's death, however, prevented him from sailing to the East, and was followed by his election as abbot of Monte Cassino in the stead of the deceased Pontiff; for Stephen had retained the abbacy whilst he lived, though he had sanctioned the succession of Desiderius[3] (1058).

Desiderius had reached Bari, and was on the point of leaving it for Constantinople, when he received word of

[1] "Artis (medicinæ) codices nonnullos secum a domo detulerat . . . confectis atque aptatis quotquot potuit medicaminibus." *Chron. Cas.*, iii. 7.

[2] *De ortu, l.c.*, and *Chron. Cas.*, iii. 8. [3] *Chron. Cas.*, iii. 9.

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the death of Pope Stephen and notice of his election to succeed him as abbot of Monte Cassino. It was whilst returning to his abbey that he encountered the dreaded Robert Guiscard, and by his winning personality obtained that favour with him and his followers which he never lost. He was installed as abbot on Easter Sunday (April 19, 1058).

Is made cardinal and papal legate.

In the schism which followed the death of Pope Stephen, Desiderius attached himself to Pope Nicholas, who not only himself bestowed the abbatial benediction upon him but made him a cardinal (March 6), and his vicar over the whole of Campania, the principate of Capua, Apulia, and Calabria from the river Pescara.[1] After taking possession of his titular church (St. Cecily in Trastevere) amid the greatest rejoicings of the Roman people, he returned to Monte Cassino.

His work as abbot of Monte Cassino.

Leo of Ostia opens the third book of the chronicle of his abbey with the following words: "Desiderius, the thirty-seventh abbot of this monastery, and its fourth restorer, ruled for twenty years and five months. Its first founder was our father the saintly Benedict, the second Petronax,[2] and the third Aligernus."[3] Under Desiderius began the

[1] "Per totam Campaniam et principatum, Apuliam quoque atque Calabriam, ab ipso fluvio Piscaria, sicut influit in mare, vicem suam . . . illi concessit." *Chron. Cas.*, iii. 12.

[2] He restored it under Pope Gregory II. after its destruction by the Lombards.

[3] Agapitus II. sent him to restore it after its destruction by the Saracens. But for the intervention of our late prime minister, Mr. W. E. Gladstone, the modern government of Italy would have taken the monastery of Monte Cassino from the Benedictines. As it is, with inconceivable ingratitude for what their country owes to that glorious abbey, they leave it in poverty to maintain itself as best it can by the help of its children in other lands, and by the respectful love of the stranger. One of its present great admirers is the emperor of Germany, and when, in the Holy Week of 1904, I had the privilege of dwelling for a few days beneath its hallowed roof, I beheld its walls being adorned with mosaics to a considerable extent at his expense.

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golden age of Monte Cassino, and by him also was advanced that renaissance of Italian art which, begun in this century, was to culminate so gloriously in the sixteenth. If to the Benedictines in general the praise is given of having considerably contributed to the preservation of Italian art,[1] no small portion of that well-deserved praise must be assigned to Abbot Desiderius.

He begins to build.

When the abbey came under his control, it was from age and neglect in a ruinous condition. Without loss of time the new abbot began in a modest manner to put some of its smaller portions into a state of repair. He began by completing a building (*palatium*) which one of his predecessors had left unfinished; then he erected a small library, and next turned his attention to the abbot's house, which had been built up against the church, and was propped up from beneath with some wretched beams, and seemed all overgrown with brushwood. When he had altogether renewed this last building, he embarked on larger works. He built a new spacious dormitory for his monks, and decorated its walls with pigments of various colours. He then levelled the old chapter-house to the ground, and erected another one on a much finer scale, adorning it with plaster (*gypsea*) urns, glass windows, and with a pavement of variegated marbles, and colouring its walls.[2]

Checks aggressions.

Unfortunately, the good abbot was not to be allowed to pursue his peaceful occupations undisturbed. He had to turn his attention to checking the aggressions of some of

[1] Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Hist. of Painting in Italy*, i. p. 53, ed. 1903. *Cf. ib.*, 55–56, on the artistic efforts of Desiderius.

[2] *Chron. Cas.*, c. 10 (11). "Greatest patron of art of his age, establisher of a school of art in Monte Cassino, partly trained by Byzantine and partly by Lombard artists, as abbot of this great monastery before he became Pope, he exercised an imperishable influence on the æsthetics of his age in architecture, painting, and mosaics." Frothingham, *The Monuments of Christian Rome*, p. 119 f.

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his neighbours, who broke in pieces and threw into an adjoining ditch the stone lions that marked the boundaries of the property of the monastery, and then pretended that certain other "lions" that adjoined a church were the real boundary stones between their property and that of the abbey. But fear of one of the Norman noble friends of Desiderius, and a strong castle which he built, taught them at length to respect the domains of their neighbours.[1] Not content with simply preserving the abbatial property as he found it, he increased it by recovering part of what had been taken from it,[2] and by the presents he received from the Empress Agnes[3] and others;[4] for he was one of those persons, attractive on the one hand, and hard-working and devoted on the other, to whom men willingly give.

Builds a new church.

"When, therefore, the venerable abbot looked around, and saw that, through the merits of our ever-blessed Father Benedict, our prosperity was great and the peace in which we lived unbroken—for in such honour was he held that not only the lesser folk, but also their princes and dukes were eager to obey him and, as though he were their father and lord, to follow his dictates—the notion came upon him, not without suggestion from above, to throw down the old church, and to erect a more beautiful and glorious one in its stead. Sore discontent at this proposal were very many of our priors; they feared he would never live long enough to be able to complete his designs. But their arguments and entreaties were lost upon him; for, with full confidence in God, he looked for His help in what he was about to do for His glory."[5]

Accordingly, in the ninth year of his rule as abbot (1066),

[1] *Chron. Cas.*, c. 11 (12). [2] *Ib.*, 13. [3] *Ib.*, 31 (32).
[4] *Ib.*, 17 (19). Some came even from different "kings of Sardinia" (*ib.*, c. 21 (23) f.), and from the emperor at Constantinople (c. 39).
[5] *Ib.*, 26 (28).

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after putting up a temporary chapel, he began to pull down the old church, and to level a large portion of the mountain top on which the abbey stood. Then he betook himself to Rome for materials, and, by influence and money, procured a large number of columns, plinths, and capitals (*lilia*), and a considerable quantity of marble of all colours.[1] All this valuable material he conveyed by the Tiber to Portus; by the sea to the Torre Garigliano, which Richard of Capua had previously given him;[2] by the Liris (Garigliano) to Suio, and thence, with immense toil, on waggons to his mountain top. "But that you may admire the zeal of the faithful who assisted at the work, they dragged the first pillar to its place up the steep and wretched mountain path by the unaided strength of their arms; for Desiderius had not then constructed the commodious road which he made afterwards."[3]

To work the marble he had thus laboriously collected on the summit of Monte Cassino, Desiderius hired from Constantinople artists skilled in mosaic-work and in the constructing of that variety of marble pavement known as *opus Alexandrinum*; and he took advantage of the presence of these master-craftsmen to train many of his young monks under them and under the other workers in stone and metal whom he brought together.[4] So well did the

[1] *Chron. Cas.*, c. 26 (28). "Quosque amicissimos alloquens, simulque larga manu pecunias oportune dispensans, columnas, bases ac lilia, nec non et diversorum colorum marmora abundanter coemit." No doubt much of this marble treasure came from the ruins of the temples and basilicas of pagan Rome.

[2] *Ib.*, c. 16 (18). [3] *Ib.* 26 (28).

[4] "Legatos interea Constantinopolim ad locandos artifices designat, peritos utique in arte musiaria et quatrataria. . . . Studuit . . . plerosque de monasterii pueris diligenter eisdem artibus erudiri." *Ib.*, c. 27 (29). Fortunately at this period the second golden age of Byzantine art was only beginning to fade, so that, no doubt, Desiderius was able to employ really accomplished artists. The grand work of training youth in the decorative arts I have seen going on even to-day at Monte Cassino.

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Byzantine workmen execute their task, that, according to Leo, their marble animals seemed to live, and their stone flowers to bloom.[1]

In the course of the excavations in connection with this new church, the workmen unexpectedly came upon the tomb (*tumulum*) of St. Benedict. However, out of respect for the saint's remains, and for fear lest "anyone might venture to steal any portion of so great a treasure," the abbot would not have it touched, but straightway covered it with precious stones, and erected over it a splendid monument of Parian marble.

When at length, during the course of five years' work, he had added to his great basilica altars and chapels to Our Lady, to Blessed John the Baptist, to the archangel Michael, and to SS. Gregory, Nicholas, and Bartholomew; had built on to it sacristies, a campanile, an atrium or paradise, with a great cistern below it; had laid down variegated marble pavements, the like of which had never been seen in those parts before;[2] had gilded the beams of the roof; had decorated its walls with mosaics and frescoes depicting scenes from the Old and the New Testament, and had set up inscriptions[3] in great letters of gold which set forth that he had dedicated to God this great basilica which on its

[1] *Chron. Cas.*, c. 27 (29).

[2] "Pavimentum . . . totius ecclesiæ cum adhærentibus oratoriis . . . mira prorsus et hactenus partibus istis incognita cæsorum lapidum multiplicitate constravit." *Ib.*, c. 28.

[3] Round the great chancel arch ran the words:—

"Ut, duce te, patria justus potiatur adepta,
Hinc Desiderius pater hanc tibi condidit aulam;"

and in the apse itself:—

"Hæc domus est similis Synai sacra jura ferenti,
Ut lex demonstrat: hic quæ fuit edita quondam
Lex hinc exivit, mentes quæ ducit ab imis,
Et vulgata dedit lumen per clymata sæcli."

Ib.

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mountain was to be a Mount Sinai of the new law—when he had accomplished all this, he betook himself to Pope Alexander (1071), and begged him to come and solemnly dedicate the new church. This, as we have already seen,[1] he did with great readiness and pomp.

The fame of Abbot Desiderius.

The number of those who flocked to the dedication of the new basilica, and the impression made upon them by its manifold beauties, brought it about not only that the abbey of Monte Cassino became more famous than ever, and that the reputation of Desiderius spread everywhere, but that strangers came from all parts to see the great abbot, and to gaze upon the glories which he had produced, or to take the monastic habit under him. Presents, too, poured into the abbot's hands from the great ones of the earth, and, adds Leo, they sent to implore his prayers and those of his brethren.[2]

All this praise and encouragement only served to stimulate Desiderius to still greater exertions. He spent the money he had received in buying ornaments for the church or in causing them to be made. For one hundred and eighty pounds of silver he secured nearly all the ecclesiastical treasures of the late Pope Victor II., which were held in pledge by different people in Rome,[3] and with thirty-six pounds of gold he purchased at Constantinople an antependium of glass mosaic, adorned with precious stones, which represented scenes from the Gospel and from the life of St. Benedict. Many of the beautiful images and specimens of different kinds of church work which came from Constantinople he caused to be copied by his own monks.[4] Among the many other rich and beautiful

[1] *Cf. supra*, vi. p. 308 ff.

[2] The kings of the earth sent him "munera decentia" and letters "quibus se suosque omnes tam suis quam fratrum sub eo degentium precibus attentius commendabant." *Chron. Cas.*, c. 30 (31).

[3] *Ib.*, c. 18 (20).

[4] *Ib.*, 32 (33).

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objects which Desiderius caused to be made for the church were its service books. He had them beautifully illuminated, and bound in gold, silver, and ivory.[1]

Desiderius renews the whole monastery.

The success which had attended his efforts to raise a magnificent basilica moved Desiderius to treat the whole monastery, even that part of it which he had rebuilt himself, as he had treated its old church. He swept away entirely the whole monastic buildings.[2] More of the mountain top was levelled, and there arose, after several more years of labour, new cloisters and dormitories, a new chapter-house, guest-house, and infirmary furnished with baths and all necessaries for the sick, and a new refectory, with kitchen, bake-house, cellars, and cisterns. Finally, that as many as possible might benefit by his work, he improved the approach to the monastery, and, that it might endure as long as possible, he fortified it with strong walls and towers.[3]

Attends to the intellectual and moral needs of his monks.

With all his zeal for the external beauty of his monastery, and for the material comfort of his monks, Desiderius did not lose sight of the fact that the first aim of a monastery ought to be the spiritual improvement of its inmates. To train the minds of his monks he not only built a library, but caused books to be copied for it.[4] Among the volumes he caused to be copied were registers of the Popes, *e.g.*,

[1] *Chron. Cas.*, c. 18 (20). Miley (*History of the Papal States*, ii. 592 ff.) gives, perhaps somewhat confusedly, abundant details of the work of Desiderius.

[2] "Cum his etiam quæ ipsemet ante ecclesiæ constructionem construxerat." *Ib.*, c. 33.

[3] "Itaque demum hinc inde muro contiguo ac propugnaculis civitatum more munito universum monasterium circumsepsit." *Ib.* The mention of the infirmary baths serves to remind me to direct the reader to Dr. Shahan's essay on "Baths and Bathing in the Middle Ages" (*The Middle Ages*, p. 286 ff.), in which he refutes the silly statement that bathing was forbidden in the Middle Ages.

[4] "Non solum autem in ædificiis, verum etiam in libris describendis operam Desiderius permaximam studuit." *Ib.*, c. 63.

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those of Leo and Felix,[1] various works of St. Augustine and other Fathers, the histories of Gregory of Tours and others, Sacramentaries, the poems of Virgil, Ovid, and others, both sacred and profane, Cicero, *De natura deorum*, and the *Institutes* and *Novellæ* of Justinian. At the same time he ceased not to endeavour to engage the monks in a more and more strict observance of their rule.[2]

Men so trained were naturally thought highly of by the Popes, who scarcely required the instigation of Hildebrand[3] to look to Monte Cassino when they required a good bishop or abbot. They even allowed Desiderius to appoint bishops and abbots himself.[4] Seeing that he had found such favour in their eyes, it need scarcely be added that he obtained from them confirmation of the privileges of his abbey,[5] that he was himself employed by them on important commissions,[6] or that he should have been marked out by Gregory as the man most suitable to succeed him.

Renews churches at a distance.

Desiderius did not confine his attentions to Monte Cassino. He did for other churches what he had done for that of his own monastery. He renewed and decorated in his grand style not only the church which, from a temple of Apollo, St. Benedict himself had turned into the Church of St. Martin, and which stood close to his monastery gate,[7]

[1] *Chron. Cas.*, c. 63. The registers of Felix are now lost.

[2] *Ib.*, c. 33. [3] *Ib.*, c. 24 (26). *Cf.* c. 14 (15).

[4] "Tantæ apud Romanum pontificem Desiderius auctoritatis habebatur et gratiæ, ut in quibuscumque vellet, proprio pastore viduatis, ecclesiis vel cœnobiis, juris ei esset suis ex fratribus episcopos substituere vel abbates." *Ib.*, c. 34.

[5] *Ib.*, c. 24 (26). [6] *Ib.*, c. 25 (27).

[7] *Ib.*, cc. 33, 34. In the apse appeared the following inscription :—

"Cultibus extiterat quondam locus iste dicatus
Demonicis, inque hoc templo veneratus Apollo,
Quod pater huc properans Benedictus in omnipotentis
Vertit honore Dei Martini et nomine sancti.
Hoc Desiderius post centum lustra vetustum
Parvumque evertit, renovavit, compsit et auxit."

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but rebuilt and adorned with mosaics the monastery of St. Benedict at Capua,[1] and the country Church of S. Angelo ad Formas (or in Formis), near Capua.[2] The walls of this edifice were covered with frescoes inside and out. "A fair number of them have been preserved, albeit," add Crowe and Cavalcaselle, "in a poor state of preservation. In the apsis," they continue, "is the Saviour enthroned in benediction. The book is in His grasp; the symbols of the Evangelists are at His sides; and the hand of the Eternal appears out of an opening surrounded by a fan-like ornament. Beneath the semidome, and on the wall of the apsis, three archangels separate the Abbot Desiderius,[3] erect and receiving the model of the church, from a figure of St. Benedict, now almost obliterated." While all the figures are crude, "the painters of Sant' Angelo-in-Formis succeeded much better in representing the realm of Satan than the joys of Paradise. Their idea of the Saviour is inexpressibly painful."[4]

However imperfect were the pictorial results actually obtained by Desiderius, his work in the domain of art was none the less important. He gave it a much-needed impetus; so that it may be said with truth that among the benefactors of European cultivation few are more deserving of eternal benediction than Abbot Desiderius of Monte Cassino.

Desiderius appreciated by his contemporaries.

But it must not be supposed that it has been reserved for moderns only to appreciate the character and worth of

[1] *Chron. Cas.*, c. 55. [2] *Ib.*, c. 37.

[3] An inscription still to be seen above the portal tells of this work of the great abbot (*c.* 1075):—

"Conscendes cælum si te cognoveris ipsum
Ut Desiderius, qui sacro flamine plenus,
Ad complendam legem deitati condidit ædem,
Ut capiat fructum qui finem nesciat ullum."

Quoted in the *History of Painting in Italy*, i. 56, ed. 1903.

[4] *Ib.*, pp. 56–58.

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Desiderius. They were highly esteemed by those who knew him, whether they were Italians or Normans. They moved "the illustrious" Gregory, consul of the Romans, and his son Ptolemy to free, throughout the whole extent of their jurisdiction, the ship of the monastery of Monte Cassino from all dock and harbour dues;[1] they disposed the Countess Matilda to free all Cassinese monks from taxes;[2] and they moved the Popes to entrust weighty commissions to him,[3] and the Normans to bestow great possessions on his monastery, and to incline their ears towards him when he endeavoured to mediate between them and the Holy See.[4] He is justly credited with being the first ecclesiastic who realised that the Normans had become too powerful to be expelled by force, and who to an unequal and useless struggle with them preferred an understanding, which soon resulted in bringing great advantages to Monte Cassino at least.[5]

Understanding his great influence both with the Pope and with the Normans, Henry IV. wished to use him for his own purposes, and threatened him with all manner of evils if he did not come to him. While realising that if he did not obey the king's behest, he would endanger the safety of his beloved monastery, and that, if he did accomplish the king's will, he would jeopardise his life, he

[1] Peter, *Chron. Cas.*, iii. 61. Gregorius "constituit ut omni tempore navis nostra . . . libera maneat ab omni condicione et debito pensionis, et ut nullum plateaticum vel portaticum monachi nostri aliquando darent in omni jure et dicione potestatis suæ mari terraque." This passage throws some light upon the powers of the "Romanorum consul" at this time.

[2] *Ib.*

[3] *Ib.*, c. 25 (27).

[4] *Ib.*, cc. 45, 46. In c. 50 we read: "Et quoniam neminem alium in his partibus invenire poterant, in quo confidere potuissent, . . . omnia ei (Desiderius) quæ consiliati fuerant (the Normans) crediderunt."

[5] Chalandon, *Hist. de la domination normande*, i. 146.

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nevertheless decided to go to him, and expose himself to danger and death.[1] During his journey to Henry, he would not communicate with any of the king's followers who were under the papal ban; nor would he, despite the royal threats, consent to accept his monastery from his hands. However, through the good offices of Jordan of Capua, an understanding was arrived at between them. Henry declared himself content that Desiderius should promise him his friendship, and such help as he could conscientiously offer him towards his attaining the imperial crown.[2] The abbot also engaged to accept his monastery from the king when he had received that crown.

Desiderius upholds the claims of the Popes, 1084.

Whilst he was at Henry's court, Desiderius never lost an opportunity of impressing on such bishops as he met there the rights of the Apostolic See. And when in self-defence they brought forward the decree of Nicholas II., and urged that, in virtue of it, a Pope could not be made without the emperor's consent, the abbot simply replied that if such a conclusion followed from the decree, then it itself was valueless; for, said he, "the Apostolic See is our mistress, not our handmaid; nor is she subject to anyone, but, on the contrary, is set over all of us. . . . By the mercy of Heaven," he boldly concluded, "never again shall a Roman Pope be made by a German king."[3] He even drove the anti-

[1] *Chron. Cas.*, c. 50: "Pergam tamen ad eum, tradens me morti et periculo."

[2] The help was to be given "salvo tamen ordine suo." *Ib.* The promises made by the abbot really committed him in no way against the policy of Gregory, as Peter notes: "Quæ, quoniam ad comparationem superiorum Desiderio levia visa sunt, quia aliter nequivit, consensit, et coram principe hoc ei promisit." *Ib.* Hence the bald accusation made by Hugh of Lyons that Desiderius had engaged to procure the imperial crown for Henry was unjust.

[3] "Apostolica enim sedes domina nostra est, non ancilla nec alicui subdita, sed omnibus est prælata, . . . nec Deo volente amplius fiet ut rex Alemannorum papam constituat Romanorum." *Ib.*

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pope to admit that the position he had taken up was the result of his fear lest Henry should deprive him of his rank.

Was ill-health the cause of the hesitation of Desiderius to succeed Gregory?

Reviewing now the work and character of Desiderius up to the date of Gregory's death, and mindful of that discerning Pontiff's choice of him as his most fitting successor, we cannot avoid the conclusion that the vacillating course he pursued about accepting the papal crown was due, not merely to a becoming unwillingness to accept the great responsibility of the Papacy, but also to ill-health. Though naturally amiable and gentle, and more disposed to try and induce men to take up the yoke of Christ because it is sweet and light, than with cords to drive evil-doers out of the house of God, he had not, up to the death of Gregory, shown any sign of weakness. But before that event, and frequently after it, we find notices of failure of his bodily health.[1] Indeed, after his consecration his health seems to have given way altogether. Ordericus[2] assures us that he was taken ill whilst he was singing his first Mass after his consecration, and that from that time he was hardly ever able to offer the holy sacrifice. We shall probably then not be wrong if we ascribe the hesitation he displayed in accepting the Papacy more to weakness of body than to timidity of conscience.

Consecration of Victor, May 9, 1087.

A few weeks after Desiderius had definitely taken on his shoulders the heavy burden of the Papacy, he appeared before Rome with a Norman escort, to find that the anti-pope had returned from Ravenna, and was in possession of St. Peter's. From this he was promptly driven by Jordan; and on May 9, Pope Victor III. was formally consecrated there by the bishops of Ostia, Tusculum, Porto, and Albano, in presence "of nearly all the inhabitants of the

[1] *Chron. Cas.*, cc. 7, 9, and cc. 68, 69, and 73.
[2] *H. E.*, viii. 7.

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Trastevere," and of many of the other Romans (May 9). However, as Guibert was still in arms on the other side of the Tiber, the Pope, not feeling himself safe, or not wishing to witness further bloodshed, returned to Monte Cassino.[1]

The month of May, however, had not run its course before he had again to leave his peaceful home, and go to Rome. This time it was in answer to a summons from the Countess Matilda, who had determined to drive Guibert out of the city altogether. At first her arms were successful, and the Pope took up his abode on the island of St. Bartholomew; but the appearance of an envoy from the king put fresh vigour into the party of the antipope, and for a brief space St. Peter's was again in their hands.[2] Unable to bear this miserable state of things, Victor once more left Rome, never to return to it, and retired to Monte Cassino (July or August).[3]

Schismatical action of Hugh of Lyons.

Besides feeling distressed at the sight of sacred edifices and ancient monuments being transformed into fortresses, and of the streets of Rome being turned into battle-fields, Victor was sore disturbed at the rebellious attitude of Hugh, the great archbishop of Lyons, one of those whom Gregory had designated as suitable men to sit in the chair of Peter. Summoned to Rome, Hugh arrived there after the election of Desiderius; but, as he acknowledges himself, he gave in his adhesion to it.[4] Then, whether it was that the thought of his nearness to the papal throne fired his

[1] *H. E.*, iii. 68. The statements of Victor's consecration in the *Ann. Augustani*, 1087, ap. *M. G. SS.*, iii., are all wrong.

[2] *Ib.*, c. 69. From the words of Peter it is possible that the envoy did not really come from Henry: "Nuntius quidam quasi ex imperatoris parte adveniens."

[3] *Ib.*, c. 72.

[4] See his letter to the Countess Matilda explaining his conduct, ap. Hugh of Flavigny, *Chron.*, ii. p. 339 ff. "Cui (the election of Desiderius) . . . pro temporis infirmitate assensum præbuimus."

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ambition,[1] or that he was irritated at the vacillation of Desiderius, he pretended to discover from the Pope's public pronouncements how utterly unworthy he was of the Papacy. He had heard him, he said, unblushingly proclaim himself the partisan of Henry,[2] and he had witnessed his denunciations of Gregory, and his opposition to his policy. Pretending, too, that he had observed that, at the gathering at Capua, Victor was craftily trying to bring about his re-election,[3] he induced the bishop of Ostia and others to support him in opposing it, although, according to Desiderius,[4] he had himself been one of those who had urged him to resume the pontificate. That his opposition proved unavailing, Hugh does not hesitate to ascribe to the power of Duke Roger, who, he says, was won over by Victor's consenting to consecrate his nominee, Alfanus, to the archbishopric of Salerno.[5] Despite his being abandoned by the cardinal of Ostia, and most of those whose support he had secured,[6] Hugh withdrew from communion with Victor, and seems to have done all he could to thwart him.[7] As we shall see, his conduct earned for him condemnation of some kind at the council of Benevento. But he must have quickly made his peace with the Holy See, for whilst Urban II. was Pope, we find him writing to the Countess Matilda and saying that, however he may have opposed the re-election of Victor, he had never "separated himself

[1] Victor, at any rate, in his address to the bishops at Benevento, ascribed Hugh's action to ambition: "Pro fastu et ambitione sedis apostolicæ." *Chron. Cas.*, iii. 72.

[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 237.

[3] "Abbas quibusdam mollibus et gestuosis repulsionibus fautores suos episcopos et principem ad compellendum se provocare cœpit." Flavigny, *l.c.* *Cf. supra*, p. 223.

[4] *Chron. Cas.*, *l.c.*

[5] Flavigny, *ib.* Hugh is even base enough to insinuate that drink had something to do with the duke's action.

[6] *Ib.* [7] So at any rate said Victor. *Chron. Cas.*, *ib.*

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from that one body in which God's mercy has joined us to serve Blessed Peter, and by God's will never would, but that, on the contrary, his mind was made up to advance in every way the interests of the Apostolic See."[1]

The beginnings of the Crusades, 1087.

Despite the difficulties under which he laboured at home, Victor could be affected by the troubles of others. With the double object, no doubt, of helping on the expulsion of the Saracens from Sicily by the Normans, and of checking the predatory habits of these infidel pirates, Victor succeeded in rousing most of the Italian peoples against them, especially the Pisans and Genoese, whose sea-power was now increasing enormously. Furnished with the banner of St. Peter, and with a promise of a plenary indulgence, the Christian fleet sailed for the African coast. The expedition met with no small measure of success. The loss of a large number of men and the taking of El Mehadia seem to have made Temin, the king of Tunis, anxious for peace. By payment of a sum of money he became tributary to the Apostolic See, agreed to set free his Christian captives, and to refrain in future from harrying Christian countries.[2] Unfortunately, the refusal of Roger of Sicily to co-operate in the expedition prevented it from producing lasting results as far as the peace of Europe was concerned,

[1] Ap. Labbe, *Concil.*, x. 416 ff. "Scire vos volumus, ab unitate eorum, qua in corpore S. ecclesiæ ad serviendum Petro divina dignatione compacti sumus, nec discessisse nec in perpetuum Deo miserante discessuros," etc. . . . "Mentiuntur (the monks of Cluny) quia a communione Romanæ ecclesiæ nos sponte nostra sejunximus, cum testis nobis sit conscientia nostra, et caritas qua in Domino copulamur, nos non solum communionem eorum non evitasse, sed omnibus hoc persuadentibus restitisse." In 1094 Hugh was already Urban's legate in France. Ep. Urb. 116, ap. *L. P.*, t. 151.

[2] *Cf.* Malaterra, *Hist. Sic.*, iv. 3; *Chron. Cas.*, iii. 71; Bernald, an. 1088; and *Ann. Pisani*, an. 1088, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vi., and various Arab chronicles cited by Mas Latrie, *Traités de paix avec les Arabes*, p. 28 f. "Eum (Temin) deinceps apostolicæ sedi tributarium fecerunt" (Bernald).

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though the churches of Pisa benefited largely by the enormous booty which the fleet brought back to Italy.

The synod of Benevento, 1087.

About the very time that El Mehadia fell into the hands of the Christians (August 6, 1087), Victor, though sick unto death, was holding a council at Benevento, and showing therein that he had inherited the ideas of Gregory not only with regard to armed opposition to the Moslems, but also with regard to the means to be adopted to free the Church from the thraldom of the State. The synod, which was attended by the bishops of southern Italy, anathematised Guibert as even at the moment engaged in devastating the city of Rome, and also Hugh of Lyons[1] for his contumaciousness, and then strongly condemned investiture.[2] Copies of the conciliar decrees were disseminated over both the East and the West.

Sardinia.

Even before he became Pope, Victor had interested himself in Sardinia. We have seen how, as abbot of Monte Cassino, he had received presents from two out of the four kings or judges who ruled, or were supposed to rule, that island. The long struggle which, in this century, had ended in the final expulsion of the Moors from Sardinia, had left the country in a very unsettled state.[3] Conscious of this, one of the judges had implored Desiderius to send some monks to Sardinia. His first effort to comply with the judge's request was not successful. The monks whom he sent, well supplied with books and all necessaries, had been seized by the Pisans, who long entertained designs against the independence of Sardinia. It was not till pressure had been brought to bear on the piratical Pisans

[1] As far as Hugh was concerned, there does not seem to have been question of excommunication strictly so called.

[2] *Chron. Cas.*, iii. 72 ; *Ann. Benevent.*, 1087.

[3] *Cf.* Tosti, *Storia della badia*, i. 358. In his work for Sardinia, Victor was once more walking in the footsteps of Gregory VII. *Cf. supra*, pp. 48, 195 f.

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by Pope Alexander that they made satisfaction for their barbarous conduct. Desiderius, meanwhile, undaunted, sent other monks to the island,[1] and when he became Pope did a great deal for the moral improvement of Sardinia. Indeed, we are assured that he spread the benefits of law and order not only in that island, but in all the West.[2]

Death of Victor, 1087.

But Victor's opportunities for working for the spiritual good of the world were but few. After the council of Benevento, he hurried back to Monte Cassino, for he was very ill. His first act was to lay down a number of regulations for the future good of his beloved monastery. Then, after gathering around him the bishops and cardinals who had accompanied him, he grasped Otho of Ostia by the hand, and, presenting him to the others, said: "Take him and set him at the head of the Roman Church, and do you yourselves take my place in everything until you can do this." Otho's opposition to his re-election was evidently not remembered by the Pope. Two days after making this last solemn will and testament, Pope Victor died (September 16, 1087), "when the sun was in the sign of the Virgin."[3] He was buried, according to his desire, in the apse of the monastic chapter-house;[4] but in the sixteenth century his remains were transferred to the chapel of St.

[1] *Chron. Cas.*, iii. 21 (23) ff.

[2] *Cf.* Peter the Deacon's MS. catalogue of the abbots of Monte Cassino quoted by Tosti (*l.c.*, p. 393): "Hic in Sardiniam ordinem extendit, et per totum Occidentem corrigit." *Cf.* his letter to the bishops of Sardinia exhorting them to work for the betterment of their churches; Jaffé, 5347. Nos. 5343-45 (4016) supply us with knowledge of a few more of the actions of Pope Victor. The *L. P.* notes that it was to him that Deusdedit dedicated his collection of canons.

[3] Sigebert (*Chron.*, 1086) assigns dysentery as the cause of his death, and later writers have pretended that this was brought on by his drinking poison which had been put into his chalice by order of Henry IV. *Cf.* Martinus Polonus, *Chron.*, 1086, etc.

[4] *Chron. Cas.*, iii. 73.

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Berthairius, in the great church of the monastery. There they still remain, though his epitaph, which was to be seen in the days of Mabillon, has disappeared. With its text, which, in elegant diction, gives a brief account of his life, we bring his biography to a close:

"Quis fuerim, vel quid, qualis, quantusque doceri
Si quis forte velit, aurea scripta docent.
Stirps mihi magnatum, Beneventus patria, nomen
Est Desiderius, tuque Casine, decus.
Intactam sponsam, matrem patriamque, propinquos
Spernens huc propero, monachus efficior.
Interea fueram Romana clarus in urbe
Presbiter ecclesiæ, Petre Beate, tuæ.
Hoc senis lustris minus anno functus honore,
Victor apostolicum scando dehinc solium.
Quattuor et senis vix mensibus inde peractis
Bis sex lustra gerens, mortuus hic tumulor.
Solis virgineo stabat lux ultima signo,
Cum me sol verus hinc tulit ipse Deus."[1]

[1] *L. P.*, ii. 292.

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B. URBAN II.

A.D. 1088–1099.

Sources.—The notice of Urban in the *Liber Pontificalis* of Peter William, seeing that it was drawn up in the diocese of Rheims,[1] of which the future Pope had been a canon, is, as might have been expected, very much fuller than those of the other Pontiffs it mentions.

Most of the important sources for the *Life* of Urban have already been touched upon. A few more remain to be dealt with here.

Eadmer (*c.* 1060–1124), the disciple and friend of St. Anselm, and one of the best historians of the twelfth century, is naturally drawn to speak of Urban owing to that Pope's relations with his master. His most important productions are: *Vita Anselmi* (*P. L.*, t. 158) and *Historiæ novorum libri vi.* (*P. L.*, t. 159, and *R. S.*). The latter work begins at the Norman Conquest and ends in 1122.

Ordericus Vitalis (1075–*c.* 1143), in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, has much to say about Urban II. This valuable book, written at intervals between 1120 and 1143, even if labouring under the disadvantages of a bad arrangement, and of a somewhat gossiping and loose style, richly entitles its author to rank as the best French historian of the twelfth century. We call him a French writer because, though born in England, he spent fifty-six honoured years in the monastery of St. Evroul in Normandy, as he tells us himself. The edition we quote is that of Migne (*P. L.*, t. 188),

[1] *Cf.* vol. iii. p. 231 of this work.

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though the best is that of A. Leprévost and Delisle, Paris, 1838–1855, in five volumes.[1]

Connected with St. Anselm; in touch with Pope Paschal II.; an historian of the Crusades,[2] and an autobiographer, Abbot Guibert of Nogent (1053–*c.* 1124) is naturally an authority for the *Life* of Urban. Writing generally in a rather pompous style, he nevertheless, at times at least, displays less credulity and more critical acumen than most of his contemporaries. His works, which everywhere show him a great searcher after truth, may be read ap. *P. L.*, t. 156.[3] The ones with which we are particularly concerned are his memoirs (*De vita sua*) and his *Gesta Dei per Francos*.

Round the Crusades inaugurated by Urban II. an enormous amount of literature grew into being both in the East and in the West. Concerning this literary mass, suffice it here to note that William, archbishop of Tyre (†1190),[4] is not the important authority for the first Crusade which he has often been supposed. His narrative of it, though fine, is only culled, not always exactly, from the works of several of those contemporary authorities we shall now notice. He does not himself become an original authority till 1143.

A source very frequently used both by early and later historians of the Crusades is the *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*, written at intervals from 1096 to 1099.[5] It is supposed to be the work of a Norman knight of south Italy who accompanied Bohemund to the East, and is the work of an intelligent but ill-cultured eye-witness. Another eye-witness was Raymond of Agiles, canon of Puy, and chaplain of Raymond of St. Gilles. His *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Jerusalem*[6] shows the faith of a Provençal, but not the impartiality of an historian or the learning of a priest. Of very different value is the work of Fulcher, a priest of Chartres, who was present at the great council of

[1] *Cf.* c. 5 (Orderic the Chronicler) of Dean Church's *St. Anselm*.

[2] He gave to his work, which, though founded on the anonymous Italian *Gesta*, is nevertheless useful, the justly famous title of *Gesta Dei per Francos*.

[3] *Cf. Le moine Guibert*, by B. Monod, Paris, 1905.

[4] *Belli Sacri Hist.*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 201; or, better, in the *Collection de l'Hist. des Croisades* (*Hist. occident*, i.), in course of publication in Paris since 1841.

[5] Ap. *Hist. occident.*, iii. [6] Ap. *ib.*, or *P. L.*, t. 155.

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Clermont, joined the army of Robert of Normandy, went with Count Balwin to Edessa, and came to Jerusalem with him in 1099. His *Gesta Francorum Jerusalem expugnantium*, though written in an involved style, is very valuable where it treats of events at which its author was present.[1] In the eleventh book of the *Alexiad* (ap. *P. G. L.*, t. 131), in which she tells the story of her father, the learned princess Anna Comnena tells the story of the first Crusade in a manner which might be expected of a woman who is the panegyrist of her father, who despises the Latins as barbarians and schismatics, and who is often but very indifferently informed.

The last historian of the first Crusade whom we shall mention is Albert, a canon of Aix-la-Chapelle. He did not go to the East, but wrote from the narrative of those who had been present at the events he describes: "auditu et relatione nota fierent ab his qui præsentes adfuissent" (c. 1). The value of his *Hist. Hierosolymitanæ exped.*,[2] written "in an unformed style" (*puerili et incauto stylo*), has been keenly debated, and cannot be said to be as yet clearly demonstrated. While it is allowed that ballads were sometimes the sources whence he drew some of his vigorous scenes, there is no doubt his work has the merits and defects that might be looked for in a book which had been composed from the stories of all sorts and conditions of men by an author unable in any way to check them by any knowledge of his own.

For modern works on the Crusades the reader may turn to the attractive and well-written, but rather inaccurate work of Michaud.[3] *The Crusades*, by Archer and Kingsford, London, 1894, is readable and good. *The History and Literature of the Crusades* is a translation by Lady Duff Gordon of selections from two of the elaborately critical works of H. Von Sybel on the Crusades. A recent and most excellent little book on the subject is *Les Croisades*, by L. Bréhier, Paris, 1907.

The Registers of Urban II. are lost, but the industry of

[1] Ap. *Hist. occident.*, iii.

[2] Ap. *Hist. occident. Crois.*, iv., or *P. L.*, t. 166.

[3] *Hist. des Croisades*, by M. Michaud, 4 vols., Paris, 1853. It has been translated into English by W. Robson, 3 vols., New York, N.D. In Michaud's *Bibliothèque des Croisades*, 4 vols., Paris, 1829, the reader will find a copious analysis in French of nearly all the ancient writers on the Crusades.

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collectors in different countries has enabled the Abbé Migne (*P. L.*, t. 151) to print three hundred and four of his letters. Unfortunately, they have not the same general interest as those of Gregory VII., as they are mostly grants of privilege to monasteries. With regard to these privileges, it is important to note that they define the relation between bishops and abbots more closely than the bulls of his predecessors had done. Previous Popes had generally inserted in their deeds of privilege a formula which had come down from St. Gregory I., by which they forbade any interference with monastic exemptions by king or bishop, "saving the canonical rights of the bishop of the diocese." Following a decision of Urban II., his successors in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries inserted a clause in their grants of privilege to abbots to the effect that they were to present to the bishop priests for the parish churches under their control, to whom he was to commit the cure of souls if they were found fit, and who were to answer to him regarding their spiritual duties, but were to be responsible to the abbot for the temporal administration of their parishes.[1]

Modern Works.—The posthumous *Life* of Urban by Dom Ruinart, one of the most famous Benedictines of St. Maur, has been reprinted in Migne, *P. L.*, t. 151. The work of A. de Brimont (*Urbain II.*, Paris, 1862) has been superseded by that of L. Paulot (*Urbain II.*, Paris, 1903). Unfortunately, however, the last-named work is overloaded with extraneous matter, and suffers from a rather disorderly arrangement of its materials, and so, though it has the merit of being exhaustive, not much help can be got from it. To his bibliography we would only add: *Un dernier triomphe d'Urbain II.*, by Le Comte Riant, Paris, 1883. It is an extract from the *Revue des Quest. histor.*, July 1883. Montalembert's account of Urban II. in his *Monks of the West*, vii. 65–241, is most interesting and charming. Besserat's *Le B. Urbain II.*, Reims, 1887, is for the most part only a collection of panegyrics which have been preached on that Pope.

The reign of Urban is, of course, also illustrated by biographies of St. Anselm,[2] Geoffrey of Vendôme (*Étude sur Geoffroi de Ven-*

[1] Pitra, *De Epistolis RR. PP.*, p. 149 ff.

[2] *The Life and Times of St. Anselm*, by M. Rule, 2 vols., London, 1883. A full and valuable work.

St. Anselm of Canterbury, by J. M. Rigg, London, 1896. Very

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dôme, by L. Compain, Paris, 1891), etc., and by such dissertations as that of Dom Brial on the divorce of Philip of France,[1] prefaced to vol. xvi. of the *Recueil des Hist. de la France*, Paris, 1813.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

EMPEROR OF GERMANY	KING OF FRANCE.	KING OF ENGLAND.	EMPEROR OF THE EAST.
Henry IV., 1056–1106.	Philip I., 1060–1108.	William II., Rufus, 1087–1100.	Alexius I., Comnenus, 1081–1118.

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useful for the philosophic side of the saint's character. See also *S. Anselme*, by J. Croset-Mouchet, Paris, 1859; and *The Life of St. Anselm*, by J. A. Möhler, Eng. trans., London, 1842. *St. Anselm*, by R. W. Church, London, 1870, is very attractively written.

[1] "De repudiata a rege Philipo Berta, et de superducta Bertrada Andegavensi."

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CHAPTER I.

THE EARLY LIFE AND ELECTION OF URBAN II.

Urban's birthplace and parentage.

OTHO,[1] bishop of Ostia, who, on the recommendation of his two immediate predecessors, was to succeed Victor III., was born about the year 1042 at Châtillon-sur-Marne, not far from Rheims, in the province of Champagne. He belonged to the knightly family of Lagery,[2] and had for his father and mother Eucher of Lagery and Isabella.[3] Lovers of monks[4] themselves, like so many others of the nobility of their times, they would seem to have inspired their son with love of the religious life. At any rate, after studying under the saintly Bruno[5] at the famous school of Rheims, to which the learning of Gerbert had restored the title of the "Gallic Athens," and after being a canon and archbishop of the diocese, he betook himself to Cluny.

He becomes a monk of Cluny, *c.* 1070.

In that "cloister of the angels," as it used to be called, "which shone on the earth like another sun,"[6] he not only acquired that love of monks and monastic orders of which he gave practical proofs all his life, but was brought in touch, especially through his famous abbot Hugh, with all the important events that were in progress throughout Christendom. For it was largely owing to the personal

[1] Otto, Odo, or Eudes.

[2] *L. P.*, and especially Alberic Trium Font., *Chron.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxiii. 801, quoting Hugh of St. Victor, who wrote *c.* 1140, and Guy de Bazoches, who died after 1203. *Cf.* Paulot, p. 2, n. 4.

[3] *Cf.* the necrology of Molesme, ap. Ruinart, *Vit. Urb.*, p. 11.

[4] Ep. Urb. 178.

[5] The founder of the Carthusians.

[6] Ep. 214.

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Urban II.
(After the Fresco of Calixtus II.)

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characters of its first abbots that it became true that Cluny was "by far the most potent international influence of the eleventh century."[1] The friends he made whilst a monk at Cluny, Urban never forgot. Especially dear to him was his novice master Peter Pappacarbone;[2] and he was never tired of expressing his love and gratitude to Cluny and to Abbot Hugh, "once his father."[3] "You and yours do I love particularly,"[4] he wrote to him, "for through you did I learn the elements of the monastic life, and in your monastery was I born again by the vivifying grace of the Holy Spirit."[5]

His lifelong regard for monks.

Hence, when he became Pope, he chose monks for his helpers—monks not only from Cluny, but also from Bec[6] and Monte Cassino, which last he proclaimed to be "the head of all the monasteries of the West," and to which he professed his gratitude for the help it was ever ready to afford to the Roman Church.[7] Of the monks he drew to his side from Monte Cassino, special mention must be made of John of Gaeta, whom he made a cardinal and his chancellor, because he was destined to become Pope Gelasius II.[8] Another justly celebrated monk whom he

[1] Hill, *A Hist. of Diplomacy in the International Development of Europe*, i. p. 204, New York, 1905. Writing to Abbot Hugh, Urban said: "Nos enim et præcipua te ac fratres tuos affectione diligimus." Ep. 8. *Cf.* ep. 9.

[2] A pretty story is told of the two in later life, when Peter, as abbot of La Cava, was present at a council presided over by his former pupil, Urban II. The Pope, perceiving his old master was sitting with uncovered head, took off his own mitre, and sent it to Peter, saying: "It is not becoming for a scholar to keep his head covered in presence of the bare grey hairs of his master." *Cf.* Guillaume, *L'Abbaye de Cava*, p. 57.

[3] Ep. 87. [4] Ep. 8.

[5] Ep. 9. *Cf.* his discourse after his consecration of the abbey church of Cluny, ap. *P. L.*, t. 151, p. 562 f.

[6] Ep. 23. [7] Ep. 219.

[8] *Cf.* Pandulf's *Life* of Gelasius II., ap. *L. P.*, ii. 311.

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summoned to the help of the Church was his old master Bruno, the Carthusian.

But the most striking proof which he gave of his love for monks and monasteries, and of his appreciation of the great work they were doing for the uplifting of the world, was the number of exemptions from episcopal control to which he affixed his signature. Privilege after privilege did he grant, not only to Hugh and to Cluny,[1] but to monasteries all over Christendom. In testimony of their having received "this liberty from the Roman Church," they were generally called upon to pay an annual sum of money "to the Lateran Palace."[2] Sometimes, in place of money, they had to give to the papal exchequer cloth, vestments,[3] etc.; and sometimes again the granting of a privilege was used as an opportunity of reminding the monks of their duties towards the poor.[4]

These deeds of exemption, and of other favours which Urban issued so lavishly in behalf of different monasteries, not only generally secured for the houses which received them that freedom from molestation and interference, whether by bishop or baron, which was necessary for them to accomplish their end, and to procure which they were

[1] Epp. 9, 137, 167, 214, 220.

[2] "Ad indicium perceptæ hujus a R. Ecclesia libertatis per annos singulos (quinque solidos monetæ illius terræ) Lateranensi palatio persolvetis." Ep. 37. Such was the general formula imposing the payment.

[3] "Duodecim sagi cilicii brachia" (Ep. 40). "Albam lineam et stolam" (Ep. 58). *Cf.* ep. 90, whence it appears that the duty of collecting these taxes in a particular district was sometimes imposed on some distinguished abbot, to whom a colleague from Rome was attached. "Vobis," wrote Urban to Raynald, abbot of St. Cyprian near Poitiers, "injungimus ut cœnobiorum quæ nostri juris sunt, specialiter censum exigatis instanter."

[4] He grants an indulgence (*judicii pro peccatis accepti partem septimam illis remittimus*) on condition that the abbot and monks feed the poor. Ep. 175.

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primarily granted, but also served to bring some financial aid to the dire needs of the Pope,[1] so often driven from Rome. They served also to reward faithful service, and to attach closely to the Pope a devoted band of adherents in every land.

It cannot fail to strike even a casual reader of Urban's bulls that very many of them are in favour of monasteries in Germany. With Henry's habit of appointing to bishoprics any unworthy person who would pay him well enough, and of imposing his own creatures on monasteries as their abbots, it was only proper that Urban should do all he could to preserve the monasteries from the contaminating influences of Henry's favourites. Hence his frequent concessions to them of freedom from episcopal control, and his reiterated declaration of their rights in the matter of the election of their own superiors. Whatever after evils arose from this freedom, its grant was at the time absolutely necessary, if the monasteries were to be agents of good.

Otho becomes "grand-prior," *c.* 1076, and bishop of Ostia, 1078.

After a few years of life as a simple monk, Otho was named "grand-prior" by his abbot, Hugh.[2] In virtue of this office, he was the second in command of the great abbey, and evidently proved himself as fitted to rule as he had been to obey. So well had he acquitted himself of his duties both as a subordinate and as a superior, that, when Gregory VII. asked Abbot Hugh to send him some

[1] Ep. 90, where he exhorts collectors to hasten to send help for the necessities of the poor of Rome and his own: "ut maturatius valeatis pressurarum nostrarum angustiis subvenire."

[2] *Cf.* his sermon cited above, p. 563, and Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei*, ii. 1. "Is Cluniaci factus ex clerico monachus . . . non multo post rexit officium prioratus." As we learn from one of his own letters after he became Pope, the young Otho (*in ordinibus minoribus constitutus*) was for a time a monk of S. Maria de' Banzi, not far from Venosa in Apulia, and near the Fontana Grande, the cool and clear "fons Bandusiæ" of Horace. *Cf.* Jaffé, 5487–5488 (4099–4100).

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of his subjects whom he might raise to the episcopacy, Otho was one of those at once selected.[1] The Pope at once made him his chief adviser and bishop of Ostia (1078). To use the impudent words of Beno, "Turbanus" was his "footman."[2]

Is legate of the Pope, 1082-1085.

During the years 1082 to 1085, Otho was moving backwards and forwards between Rome and France and Germany, acting as Gregory's legate. It has already been told[3] how Henry, in violation of his word, seized Otho when making his way to Rome to attend the November synod of 1083. Released because his captor had discovered that his seizure had proved what was to him worse than a crime, viz., a mistake,[4] he was again sent into Germany (1084), to spread abroad the news that Gregory had reiterated his excommunication of the king and his antipope. In sending him on this important mission, Gregory dispatched a letter "to all the faithful," assuring them they might have full confidence in Otho and his companions. "They are," he wrote, "most faithful to Blessed Peter, and each in his own rank is among the most distinguished in his household. They cannot be moved from their loyalty to him nor torn from the bosom of Holy Mother Church by threats or promises."[5]

[1] Herman of Tournai (fl. 1147), *De restaurat. abbatiæ S. Martini Tornac.*, c. 97, ap. *P. L.*, t. 180, p. 114, writes: "Cumque ibi (Cluny) *per aliquot annos* religiosissime vixisset, et D. P. Gregorius VII. eidem D. Hugoni abbati mandasset ut sibi aliquos de monachis suis viros sapientes transmitteret, quos competenter episcopos ordinare posset, D. Hugo ei inter ceteros præfatum Odonem transmisit." *Cf.* Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. E.*, iv. 12. Otho, on his arrival in Italy, took up his abode for a brief space at the great abbey of La Cava. *Cf.* ep. 66. In recent years the monks of La Cava have set up a bronze statue in front of their monastery to its most famous inmate: "Beato Urbano II. Pont. Max. quod suum cœnobium inviserit . . . ejusdem familiæ abbas et monachi . . . posuere, 1892."

[2] "Pedissequus ejus." *Gesta R. E.*, ii. 2. [3] *Cf. supra*, p. 156.

[4] *Cod. Vat. A*, ap. Watterich, i. 340. [5] Jaffé, *Mon. Greg.*, epp. coll. 46.

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The council of Quedlinburg, April 1085.

Besides occupying himself with filling up vacant sees in Saxony, or in replacing such bishops as Gregory had condemned with men who were loyal to the Church,[1] he presided, by order of the Pope, over an important synod which was held at Quedlinburg (Saxony) in April 1085. At this council matters were discussed that had previously been treated of at a conference at Gerstungen[2] between representatives both of the papal and the imperial parties, at which Otho had also presided. The conference had ended in nothing, and at the synod in question, composed of the adherents of the Pope, and of those Saxon bishops, "torches which, in the midst of an evil and perverse people, no whirlwind had been able to extinguish,"[3] it was first established that the decisions of the Popes are irreformable. Then, after the passing of disciplinary decrees anent the continence of the clergy, etc., the antipope Guibert and many of his followers were anathematised by name.

Victor III. and his successor.

When Otho returned from Germany, Desiderius had already been elected to the See of Peter. Annoyed, perhaps, at the continued unwillingness of the abbot to accept the honour which had been thrust upon him, Otho seems for a time to have joined Hugh of Lyons in endeavouring to take from him what he had no wish to keep.[4] Such brief opposition, however, as he had displayed towards him, did not prevent Victor from recommending him as his successor.[5]

The election of Urban, 1088.

On the death of that amiable Pontiff, the star of the Gregorian party seemed far from being in the ascendant. In Germany, Hermann was no match for Henry, who was preparing to send his son Conrad into Italy to make head

[1] Bernald, *Chron.*, 1084. [2] *Cf.* Hefele, *Conc.*, vi. 626, Fr. ed.

[3] *Lib. can. contra. Henricum IV.*, c. 15, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, i. 488; Walram, *De unitate eccles.*, c. 22, ap. *ib.*, ii. 239; *Annalista Saxo* and Bernald, 1085.

[4] *Cf. supra*, p. 240. [5] *Ib.*, p. 243.

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against the Countess Matilda,[1] and Rome was for the most part in the power of the antipope. But the friends of the Papacy, especially the Countess Matilda,[2] were not idle. Messengers were dispatched in all directions to exhort the bishops not to be wanting to their head. At length a definite summons was issued for as many as possible to meet at Terracina[3] in the first week of Lent, and for those who could not be present in person to send word that they would acknowledge as Pope the one who was there elected.[4]

Accordingly, on the 9th of March 1088, there assembled in the Church of SS. Peter and Cæsarius, attached to the palace of the bishop of Terracina, some forty bishops and abbots,[5] Benedict, the papal prefect of Rome, and a certain number of representatives of ultramontane bishops and of the Countess Matilda. After the wishes of Popes Gregory and Victor as to their successors had been made known to the assembly, the usual three days of fasting and prayer were proclaimed, and the meeting adjourned till Sunday. On that day, when the prelates were again gathered

[1] He had already been crowned (May 30, 1087) as Henry's successor. He came into Italy about the close of 1087. *Cf.* Richter, *Annalen*, 1087 (ed. 1898).

[2] Her zeal for the cause of the Papacy seemed to increase with her age; and if her correspondence with Gregory had been considerable, it was greater with Urban.

> "Cursores currunt ad eamdem *crebrius* hujus (Urban)
> Densius haud cessat Patres hos (Gregory and Urban) hæc vice versa
> Chartis et missis pulsare diebus in ipsis."
>
> Donizo, ii. 3.

[3] "In Campania, a city of the H. R. Church." Ep. 2.

[4] *Cf.* Peter (*Chron. Cas.*, iv. 2), who is the chief authority for Urban's election.

[5] But according to epp. 1 and 2 of Urban himself, there were only five "bishops and cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, sixteen other bishops, and four abbots."

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together in the same church, the bishops of Tusculum, Porto, and Albano mounted the ambo together, and together proposed that Otho, bishop of Ostia, should be elected. Mindful of the wishes of the two late Popes, and attracted by his amiable character, his ability, and his fine tall figure, the whole assembly, "with wonderful and complete accord, and with loud voice," signified its assent. Then, no sooner had the bishop of Albano announced that the new Pope wished to be called Urban, than all rose to their feet, crowded round the object of their choice, stripped him of his mantle of wool (*cappa lanea*), clothed him in purple, and with acclamations of joy and invocations of the Holy Ghost hurried him to the altar of Blessed Peter the apostle, and placed him on the pontifical throne. Nor did the assembly break up till after Urban had said Mass, and had been duly installed (March 12, 1088).[1]

Character of Urban.

The bishop who had thus been raised to the supreme see of Christendom was, we are informed, a man of commanding presence,[2] of polished manners, of distinguished piety and ability, and possessed of remarkable powers

[1] Peter, *ib.*; *Annal. Benevent.*, 1088, ap. *M. G. SS.*, iii.; Epp. Urb., 1 and 2.

[2] To commemorate the Concordat of Worms (1122), Calixtus II. caused various fresco paintings to be executed, of which one decorated the apse of his oratory of St. Nicholas in the Lateran Palace. Among other figures, this fresco depicted those of his six immediate predecessors. Unfortunately, this priceless historical, if not artistic, monument was damaged by *restoration* at the end of the sixteenth century, and was wholly destroyed in the eighteenth. From copies of it, however, which were made in the seventeenth century, we can safely affirm this much at any rate of Urban's appearance and dress, viz. that, like his contemporary Pontiffs, he wore a beard, that his mitre had simply one circle or crown, and that his pallium had practically the same shape as it has now. Finally, the circular nimbus round his head shows that in the days of Calixtus he was regarded as a saint. On this fresco see *Esame dell' immagine di Urbano II.*, by G. B. di Rossi, Roma, 1881.

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of eloquence.[1] Though both by word and deed he proclaimed himself to be imbued with the reforming views of Gregory VII., and though he was said so to be by others,[2] he was perhaps more disposed than his illustrious model to have regard to the weakness of human nature, or at least to bow his head a little to circumstances.[3] But he kept the memory of Gregory's great deeds in front of him as his guide and his spur. He proclaimed in his bulls that he acted through devotion to this, his "most reverend Father and predecessor," whose "heroic life, whose distinguished learning, and whose admirable constancy is the theme of the Roman Church and of the whole West, and is acknowledged by the obstinacy of tyrants at once endured and overcome."[4] The piety with which, on the testimony of his contemporaries, we have credited Urban, showed itself in his actions in two ways at least. He had thought for the poor, and devotion to Our Lady. He endeavoured not only to raise money for his own poor of Rome,[5] but generally to safeguard the interests of the poor everywhere.[6]

[1] Ordericus, *H. E.*, viii. 7; Donizo, ii. 3, "Urbanus rhetor." *Cf.* *L. P.*, though the words there used are only a copy of those used to give the character of Stephen III. (IV.); Guibertus, *Gesta Dei*, ii. *init.*; Deusdedit, *Lib. contra invas.*, i. c. 12, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, ii. etc.

[2] *L. P.*, ii. 294; the contemporary author of the *Hist. consecrationis Monasterii Cavensis*, which Urban performed in 1092, tells how he was feared by Henry "eo quod Gregorii VII. . . . partes et acta tueretur." Ap. *R. I. SS.*, vi. 237. The anonymous author of the important *Chron. S. Andreæ* (1001–1133) says (iii. 11): "Hic per omnia predecessoris sui in ecclesiasticis sanctionibus secutus est vestigia." Ap. *P. L.*, t. 149, from *M. G. SS.*, viii. *Cf.* Urban's own statement on this point in ep. i.

[3] We find him often inclining to the more merciful side "necessitate ecclesiæ urgente," ep. 15; "cognoscentes præsentis temporis necessitatem," epp. 102, 115, 134, 230, etc.

[4] Ep. 240. [5] Ep. 90.

[6] Epp. 35, 186. In the latter letter to the canons of St. Martin of Tours he writes: "Possessionum vero vestrarum decimæ seu nonæ in pauperum usus omnino proficiant."

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Of his devotion to the Mother of God he gave evidence both by his repeated declarations in his letters that he was moved to act "out of devotion and love to Blessed Mary ever Virgin,"[1] and by writing a *Preface* in her honour.[2]

Urban announces his election.

One of the first of Urban's pontifical acts was to notify to the Catholic world his election, and his determination to walk in the footsteps of Gregory.[3] Some of the letters in which he made these announcements have been preserved. In one of them, addressed to Gebhard, archbishop of Salzburg; to the bishops of Passau and of Worms, and to a few other German bishops who were still loyal to the Roman Church; to Duke Welf, and to the faithful generally, he tells how he had been elected against his will, and how a sense of obedience only had compelled him to take up the burden of the Papacy in the present perilsome circumstances. He exhorts them to continue to stand by the Roman Church, and to be assured, as far as he was concerned, that he was desirous of following in the path marked out by Gregory. "All," he said, "that he rejected I reject, what he condemned I condemn, what he loved I embrace, what he regarded as Catholic I approve of, and to whatever side he was attracted I incline."[4]

Writing to his old abbot, Hugh of Cluny, on the same day, he implores him, if he has any pity, if he has any remembrance of his son and his pupil, to come to him, or, if that cannot be, to send someone in his name from whom he may learn the abbot's mind, and from whom he may learn how all the brethren are. He concludes by begging Hugh to cause all the brethren to pray for the needs of the Church.[5]

[1] Ep. 44.

[2] *L. P.*, and *Anon. Zwettlensis*, ap. Watterich, i. 572 n.

[3] Bernald, 1088.

[4] Ep. 1, March 13, 1088.

[5] Ep. 2. "Noveris enim omnibus specialius hoc negotium super te pendere" are the last words of the letter.

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Writing a little later to Lanfranc, "the noblest and truest of the distinguished sons of his mother, the Holy Roman Church," he begged him to give "due obedience" and help to her in this her time of great stress. Reminding him of the special debt that the church over which he presided owed to the Roman Church, because it had received from her "the elements of the Catholic faith," he urged him to link the two distant churches together in the bonds of Catholic unity, and to the best of his power to correct "anything he might find to be contrary to the Apostolic See or opposed to its authority." He was also to ask the king to stand by the Roman Church, and to send to Cluny as soon as possible, through Roger, "cardinal subdeacon of our Church," the money "which Blessed Peter is wont to receive from his kingdom."[1]

We may pause to note here that William the Conqueror, over whom Lanfranc had no little influence, had died September 9, 1087, and that the king referred to in this letter is that unworthy tyrant, the Red William II. That Lanfranc, had he lived, would have been able to curb the excesses of Rufus may be doubted. At any rate, when this letter reached Lanfranc, he was nearer ninety years of age than eighty, and had not long to live (†May 24, 1089). In any case, there is no reason to suppose he would have succeeded in altering the neutral position towards the rival Popes which William the Conqueror had caused England to assume, even if he could have been persuaded to make the attempt.[2]

[1] Ep. 4. It is curious that not one of the biographers of Lanfranc whom we have cited above makes any mention of this letter to him. Of the embassy of Cardinal Roger, the bearer of it, nothing seems to be known.

[2] *Cf.* Florence of Worcester, *Chron.*, 1091. England acknowledged Urban in 1095. In that year Walter, cardinal-bishop of Albano, brought the pallium from him for Anselm, and remained in England

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Among the many congratulatory messages which must have reached Urban after the dispatch of these letters, the bantering epigram of St. Peter Damian will at least have caused him some amusement. He *Urbanely* congratulates him on being made a poor bishop at Rome. "I find," he wrote, "that what Peter was at Bethsaida, he is now in Rome, the same when holding the sceptre as when mending his nets. He is ever cleansing his fishing tackle, and ploughing the waters of the deep. He who of old on the waters was destitute of everything, contrives here on earth to place a heavy burden on me, and would refresh with husks one who had at least a little fish to nourish him."[1]

Congratulations of St. Peter Damian.

for some time. "And afterwards the Rome-scot was sent by him, which had not been done for many years before." *A.-Sax. Chron.*, 1095. *Cf.* Eadmer, *Hist. Novorum*, l. ii. *init.*, p. 69, *R. S.*, and *infra*, p. 329 n.

[1] "Quod sibi Bethsaide, nunc est mihi Petrus in Urbe
Hoc cum sceptra tenet, quod erat cum retia neret,
Semper lina lavat, pelagi mihi cærula sulcat,
Me premit in terris qui prorsus egebat in undis,
Me siliquis recreat modicus quem piscis alebat."

Epigram 197, ap. *P. L.*, t. 145, p. 967. The title is undoubtedly given better in Cajetan's ed., iv. 21 (1663). "Urbanè (*P. L.*, Urbano) gratulatur, qui Romæ factus est pauper episcopus."

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CHAPTER II.

HENRY AND HIS ANTIPOPE DOWN TO THE DEATH OF POPE URBAN.

Urban goes to Sicily, 1088.

REALISING that the Normans were the only earthly power on which he could count, Urban's first care was to bring them to peace among themselves. Roger and Bohemund, the two sons of Guiscard, were fighting for their father's inheritance. To mediate effectively between them Urban betook himself to Sicily (*c.* May) in order to secure the co-operation of their uncle, Count Roger, in the work he had at heart. Though engaged in the siege of a town held by the Moors, Roger, "like a true Catholic" (*ut catholicus vir*), at once left it, and hurried to Troïna[1] to meet the Pope, who was too much fatigued by his journey to proceed further. Unfortunately, we have not a full record of what took place between them. There can, however, be little doubt that among the subjects which engaged their attention were, besides the treatment of Latin Christians in the East by the Emperor Alexius,[2] the relations between the Papacy and the Normans, and the internecine strife of the latter; for in the following year peace appears to have been brought about between the brothers through the mediation of the Pope and Count Roger.[3]

The Pope in Rome in great distress, 1088.

In November, for the first time since his consecration, we find Urban in Rome, whither, according to the con-

[1] West of Mount Etna.

[2] *Cf. infra*, c. iii.

[3] Malaterra, *Hist.*, iv. 12 and 13. What we have given as the probable object of the Pope's journey is the idea of Balan, *Storia d'Italia*, iii. 184–185, and of other writers on the history of Italy and Sicily. *Cf. infra* regarding the synod of Melfi.

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jecture of certain writers, he had been escorted by Norman troopers. If, indeed, his introduction into his episcopal city was due to them, they must either have abandoned him at once, or else have attempted to establish him with a very inadequate force. Not only was the antipope's party not driven from the principal places of Rome, but Urban had to take up his abode on the island of St. Bartholomew,[1] where he was protected by "the most famous and illustrious Peter Leo (Pierleone)," who had converted the theatre of Marcellus into a fortress which guarded the approach to the island from the Rome of the left bank of the Tiber.[2] Confined to this insignificant portion of the Eternal City, Urban was reduced to such straits that he was dependent for his support on the charity of Roman matrons, and sometimes even on the poor ones among them.[3] Still, in the midst of his poverty, Urban consulted for the dignity of the Apostolic See. "A man of literary tastes," he was anxious that the documents which issued from the apostolic chancellary should not be wanting in style. He accordingly made brother John of Gaeta his chancellor, that he might restore "the old polished diction which his see had well-nigh lost, and might promptly reintroduce the Leonine *cursus*."[4]

[1] "In insula Licaonia, intra duos egregii Tyberis pontes." Pandulf in vit. Gelasii II., ap. *L. P.*, ii. 311.

[2] *Cf.* Lanciani, *The Ruins of Ancient Rome*, p. 494.

[3] "Matronarum Romanarum et aliquando mulierc ularum pauperum elemosinis regebatur." Pandulf, *l.c.* *Cf.* the state in which Geoffrey of Vendôme found him later (1094). "Pene omnibus temporalibus bonis nudatum et alieno ære nimis oppressum." Ep. i. 8, ap. Watterich, i. 590.

[4] Pandulf, *l.c.* The Leonine *cursus*, or rhythmic prose style, used in the papal bulls from the fifth to the seventh century, was founded on the diction of Pope Leo I. (†417). So notes Duchesne, *L. P.*, ii. 318, n. 7, referring to N. Valois in the *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 1881, p. 161 ff. During the twelfth century the rhythm of the papal bulls became more and more marked; the employment of the *cursus*, *i.e.*,

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Henry declared excommunicated, April 1089.

Meanwhile, in war-ridden Germany, Henry, despite some reverses, was gradually getting the upper hand. His cause was greatly helped by the death, during the year 1088, of the warlike Saxon bishop, Burchard of Halberstadt, and of the learned Gebhard of Salzburg. Weary of war, dispirited by the constant devastation of their land, and by the loss of many of their leaders, many even of the Saxons now abandoned Hermann, the king of their own choice, and submitted to Henry. Thus deserted, Hermann withdrew to Lorraine, where he also died this same year.

Bad as all this news was for Urban cooped up on the island of the Tiber between the faithful people of the Trastevere and Pierleone in his theatre fortress, it did not paralyse him. He was the heir of Gregory's spirit as well as of his throne, and he made known to his legate in Germany, viz., Gebhard of Constance, and to the German bishops, that after holding a synod (*fratrum nostrorum communicato concilio*), he had confirmed the sentence of excommunication issued by Gregory against "the Heresiarch of Ravenna," against Henry, "the author of his obstinacy, and against all such as gave them active support in any way."[1] But with regard to those who entered into relations of one sort and another with such as had been excommunicated, Urban was more merciful. He would not, he said, excommunicate them, but he would only allow them to be received into the society of the faithful after they had done

the use of a certain definite arrangement of accentuated syllables at the end of clauses and sentences, grew more and more fixed as the century advanced. The first seemingly to draw up regular rules for the *cursus* was Albert de Morra, afterwards Gregory VIII. (1187), when he was chancellor of the Roman Church. Hence, when we read that the notaries of the Pope used the *stylus Gregorianus*, reference would appear to be made to the rhythmic style expounded by Albert. The *cursus* will be treated of again under the biography of Gregory VIII.

[1] *Cf.* epp. 15 and 16. *Cf.* Bernald, 1089. Bernald speaks of as many as 115 bishops meeting together under the Pope's presidency.

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penance and received absolution. A smaller penance was to be imposed on those who had offended by ignorance or necessity, but a severe one on such as had done so of their own free will. With regard to those who had been ordained by excommunicated, but properly consecrated, bishops —if simony had not entered into their ordination, if their character was good, and if the necessity of the Church required it,—he allowed such to remain in the grade to which they had been ordained, but only in very rare cases, and under the greatest necessity, to be raised to a higher rank.

Guibert holds a synod, 1089.

The example of Urban in holding a synod was followed by the antipope. He held a council in St. Peter's, before which he summoned Urban to appear; for to the Pope's party he attributed the blood which was being shed all over Italy and Germany. It is a sign of the times that even Guibert and his bishops, unable to withstand the voice of the people, dissatisfied with a married clergy, were compelled to enforce the laws of the Church regarding clerical continency.[1]

Is expelled from Rome, June 1089.

But for the time, at least, the days of Guibert in Rome were numbered. Urban's own troops, supported by a number of his vassals from the Campagna, attacked the forces of the antipope under his nephew, Count Odo of Sutri, and the imperial prefect. After three days' fighting (June 28–30), the antipope was compelled to abandon the city, leaving his treasure chest (*camera*) in the hands of the papal party. On the 3rd of July, "accompanied by the clergy and people of Rome, and by a force of horse and

[1] "Quia murmur populi adversus incontinentiam clericorum passim crescit ac dilatatur, utile visum fuit, ut ea, quæ debetis, diligentia ministros altaris secundum statuta canonum vivere." *Decretum Wiberti*, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, i. 626; or Jaffé, *Mon. Bamb.*, 151. Among other distinguished persons whose blood was shed this year in the terrible strife between the Papacy and the empire was Bonizo of Sutri.

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foot, to the sound of the cymbal and the lyre, through streets bedecked with flowers and palms, and covered with carpets, Urban made his triumphant way to St. Peter's, where he said Mass. Thence with the crown on his head he returned to the city proper." [1]

With this severe blow given to the fortunes of Henry in Italy, we may associate another which also took place this year. Opposition to his power was far from being dead even in Germany. Duke Guelf IV. (or Welf) of Bavaria was still in arms against his king. To consolidate the opposition against him, Urban persuaded Matilda to accept the hand of Guelf, the younger son of the Duke of Bavaria. Many suitors, enamoured of the character or possessions of the great countess, had sought her hand after the death of her first husband, Godfrey of Lorraine. Among these was Robert, the son of William the Conqueror, who vainly sought to win her that he might the better oppose his father.[2] The youthful Guelf would probably have fared no better in his suit than Robert, had it not been for the intervention of Urban in his behalf. Realising how much it would strengthen his hands if the house of one of the strongest supporters of the papal cause in Germany were united with its most powerful stay in Italy, Urban did not hesitate to urge Matilda to accept the proffered hand of Guelf, youth though he was.[3]

The synod of Melfi, 1089.

Eminently satisfied with the success of his negotiations

[1] "Et in Urbem coronati redivimus" These interesting details we owe to a letter of Urban, which, discovered in 1762, was only utilised by Kehr in 1900. *Cf. Archivio della R. Soc. Rom. di storia Patria*, 1900, p. 277 ff. *Cf.* Bernald, 1089, who adds that Guibert was compelled to swear that he would not again attempt to take possession of the Apostolic See. *Cf.* also Urban's letter to the people of Velletri, who took part in this expulsion of Guibert. Ep. 23.

[2] Malmesbury, *Hist. reg.*, l. iii., sub an. 1083.

[3] "Nobilissima dux Mathildis . . . Welfoni duci filio Welfonis ducis conjugio copulatur, et hoc utique non tam pro incontinentia quam pro

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in this delicate matter, Urban left Rome to promote an enduring peace among the Norman nobles, and a higher standard of ecclesiastical discipline among the clergy of south Italy. At his command seventy bishops met him in synod at Melfi (September 10). Besides passing the usual decrees regarding clerical celibacy, and against investitures and lay interference in ecclesiastical affairs generally, the assembly issued various regulations relating to the clergy. For instance, they were forbidden to dress extravagantly, and it was prohibited to ordain men priests before they were thirty years of age. Abbots were also warned not to encroach on the rights of parish churches.[1]

The synod, however, did not confine its work to matters clerical. Political affairs also occupied its attention. The brothers Roger and Bohemund were drawn into satisfactory amicable relations, and the former, as his father had done before him, took the oath of fealty to the Pope, "became the liegeman of Urban, and by the gift of a standard received from him his lands with the title of duke."[2]

After the close of the synod, the Pope, often in the company of the two Norman chiefs, spent the greater part of three months in going about from one town to another in Apulia, consecrating churches or bishops, and arranging ecclesiastical affairs of all kinds. He returned to Rome in December.

Greatly annoyed at these successes scored by the Pope, but especially at the marriage of Matilda,[3] Henry at once

Henry re-enters Italy, 1090.

Rom. Pontificis obedientia, videlicet ut tanto virilius S. R. Ecclesiæ contra excommunicatos posset subvenire." Bernald, 1089. On this marriage of Matilda, see Tosti, *La Contessa Matilda*, p. 294 ff.

[1] Jaffé, sub 5408; Hefele, *Conc.*, vii. 9. French ed.

[2] "Rogerius dux liggius Urbani homo effectus." Romuald. Salern., *Annal.*, 1090.

[3] "Heinricus . . . multum de prædicto conjugio tristatur." Bernald, 1089.

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seized her property north of the Alps,[1] and in the spring of 1090 entered Italy. Devastating the territory of the great countess as he went along, he reached Mantua in April, and at once laid siege to it. His arrival in Italy inspired the party of the antipope with fresh courage, and they began again to make themselves troublesome in Rome. Unwilling, if we are to believe Bernald,[2] to reduce them to obedience by force, Urban left Rome (1090) for the Campagna. It was three years before he could return.

The antipope returns to Rome, 1091,

Meanwhile the arms of Henry were not making any great progress in the north. But in the year following his entry into Italy, fortune smiled more favourably upon him. Treachery enabled him to make himself master of Mantua after a siege of nearly a year (April 1091); and his antipope Clement was about the same time readmitted into Rome. The adherents of the latter got possession of St. Angelo, which they held for seven years,[3] and "he so entrenched himself near St. Peter's that he could not be easily dislodged."[4]

Proposals for peace, but continued war.

The position of Urban after he left Rome in 1090 was anything but enviable. Behind him, in the north of Italy, Henry was subduing the forces of Matilda and her youthful spouse, and in Rome the turbulence of the antipope's faction made residence therein practically impossible for him. In front of him one of his Norman *friends*, Jordan of Capua, who, however, had not long to live (†November 20, 1090), was quietly annexing all that part of Campania in his neighbourhood which belonged to the Apostolic See.[5] He had to be a wanderer in the midst of strife. But while most men would seem to have

[1] Donizo, ii. 4 *init.*
[2] Ad an. 1091.
[3] *Catal.*, ap. Watterich, i. 571 n.
[4] Bernald, 1091 and 1092.
[5] "Jordanus princeps . . . cum universam fere Campaniam a jure sedis apostolicæ subductam in deditionem accepisset, apud Pipernum vita decedit." Peter, *Chron. Cas.*, iv. 10.

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acquiesced in the conclusion that there was nothing for it but continued appeal to the sword, some ceased not endeavouring to bring about peace. There were some who addressed themselves to the general public. Railing against *Clement*, who could not exercise *clemency* because the power of the keys had not been given to him, they called upon *Urban* either to change his name or to return to his *urban* see.[1] They proposed that a council should be summoned to adjudicate on the respective claims of the two Popes. Others in Germany addressed themselves to Henry, and promised him their allegiance and assistance in subduing all rebels if he would only abandon Guibert, and return to communion with the true Pope. But this he was hindered from doing by the opposition of the schismatical bishops, who had by this time possession of all but four or five of the sees of Germany, and who foresaw their own deposition in the event of peace between Henry and the Pope. They, accordingly, prevented him from coming to terms, and thus putting an end to the dreadful struggle which was rending in twain every province and every episcopal see in the empire.[2] An appeal to him on the same lines in Italy was equally fruitless.[3] He deserved the description given him by Urban as "the overthrower of Christian peace, and the sacrilegious seller of churches, the destroyer of the Roman Empire, and the cause and protector of heretics."[4]

[1] The *Altercatio inter Urbanum et Clementem*, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, ii. 170, opens thus:—

> "Nomen habes Clemens, sed Clemens non potes esse,
> Tradita solvendi cum sit tibi nulla potestas.
> Diceris Urbanus, cum sis projectus ab urbe,
> Vel muta nomen vel regrediaris ad urbem."

The *Altercatio* is supposed to be the work of a Frenchman, and to have been written in 1091.

[2] Bernald, 1089, *sub fin.* [3] *Ib.*, 1091. [4] Ep. 125.

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Council at Benevento, March 1091.

With prospects, therefore, anything but bright, Urban went about south Italy striving to raise the standard of ecclesiastical discipline. For this end he celebrated a council at Benevento,[1] though he did not neglect to use the opportunity to renew the condemnation of Guibert and his accomplices.[2] Whilst thus an exile from his episcopal see, with nowhere to lay his head, he was nevertheless consoled by the proofs which he was daily receiving that he was the Pope generally acknowledged by the Catholic world, and he was encouraged by many signs to believe that his position was slowly improving. By the capture of Noto in 1091, Count Roger brought to an end the Saracen domination of Sicily, and replaced it by the Norman.[3] And any advance of Norman influence was on the whole to the advantage of Urban.

Henry checked at Canossa, 1092.

In the north of Italy Henry's success had at first been overwhelming. The vassals of Matilda, thoroughly cowed, compelled her to enter into negotiations with the German monarch. But "the ears of the countess would not listen" to the condition that she must acknowledge Guibert, who had now joined his king, as Pope of Rome.[4] Reanimated by the eloquence of a hermit who promised that the prayers of St. Peter would bring them victory, the followers of the countess decided to continue the struggle, and soon after inflicted a severe defeat on Henry at Canossa. The memory of what he had suffered at that famous castle made him anxious to raze it to the ground.[5] But once

[1] Jaffé, sub 5444. *Cf.* ep. 49. [2] Bernald, 1091.

[3] *Cf.* Chalandon, *Hist. de la domin. normande*, i. chap. 13.

[4] Donizo, ii. 7. "Hoc (the acknowledgment of Guibert) audire quidem nolunt aures comitissæ."

[5] "Ac memor est factus Canossæ quæ mala passus
Sit, nudis quando planctis illic stetit, algor,
Nix pariterque pedes illius coxit," etc.
Donizo, *ib.*

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more Canossa was fatal to him. He was completely worsted, lost his royal standard, had to retreat across the Po, and watch his fortunes in Italy steadily decline[1] (October 1092).

He was not at the end of his troubles in Italy. On the death of his outraged but faithful wife Bertha (1087), he had married Praxedis,[2] the daughter of the Russian prince Vsevlad of Kiev (1089). He soon conceived a greater hatred of her than he had at first done against Bertha, and undoubtedly treated her in a much more abominable manner than he had his first wife. Donizo refuses to speak of the foul manner in which he exposed her chastity to violation, lest the mere mention of it should defile his poem.[3] Imitating the poet in this respect, we will merely

Rebellion of Conrad, 1093.

[1] "Hæc dum fiebant October rura colebat;
Rex . . .
Luce Padum transit, decrescens omnibus annis."
Ib.

[2] By *Nestor*, who only tells us of her becoming a nun and dying in 1109 (*Chron.*, cc. 86 and 88), she is called Eupræcia. By some of the Latin sources she is called Adelaide.

[3] "Flagitium (Henry's) prorsus sua cœpit spernere conjunx,
Quod taceat metrum, nimis hinc ne degeneretur."
II. c. 8.

Cf. Bernald and his statements regarding the queen's declarations at the councils of Constance and Piacenza, ad. an. 1094 and 1095. Revolting details are given in the *Annales S. Disibodi*, an. 1093, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvii. p. 14. These annals used to be ascribed to an abbot Dodechin, and were wont to be regarded as a continuation of Marianus Scotus. The *Vita Heinrici IV.* observes a discreet silence with regard to all Henry's matrimonial relations. *Cf.* Deusdedit, *Libell. contra invasores*, c. ii., n. 12 (ap. *M. G. Libell.*, ii.), who tells of his wife "quam multis Deo teste prostituit"; and the letter of Herrand, writing in the name of Louis, count of Thuringia, which asks what is to be thought of the man who "uxorem propriam scelere omnibus seculis mundi inaudito lupanar facere"? Ap. *M. G. Libell.*, ii. p. 288. Perhaps the most damning of all the evidences against Henry is that of Ekkehard of Aura (*Chron.*, 1099), who is usually favourable to him. He tells us that Conrad, to whom he gives a most attractive character, would only

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observe that if we are to be guided by contemporary evidence,[1] it was Henry's attempt to make his son the partner of his deep depravity that was the cause of Conrad's rebellion against him at this time; but that, if we are to follow the assertion of some modern authors, it was the persuasion of Matilda, or of "the priests."

At any rate, in 1093, Conrad did throw off allegiance to his father, and attached himself to Matilda and Guelf. Their party was still further strengthened this year by the adhesion of the first Lombard League. Milan, Cremona, Lodi, and Piacenza banded themselves together for a term of twenty years against Henry. The passes of the Alps were promptly seized by them, and the king, abandoning all hope of receiving succour from Germany, shut himself up in a fortress. Here, while his son was being crowned at Monza and at Milan,[2] he would have put an end to his

disclose the cause of his rebellion to a very few of his most intimate friends, and that, mindful of the words: "Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy father" (Leviticus xviii. 7), and "Honour thy father and thy mother" (St. Matt. xix. 19), he would never listen to the stories which were current "throughout the whole Roman Empire" against his father's morals, and which had been the cause of his separation from him. The shocking brutality of Henry's treatment of his unfortunate wife is only too well attested. Some writers seem to think that to say that these charges against Henry "surpass belief" is enough to discredit the strong historical evidence on which they rest. *Cf.* Gregorovius, *Rome*, iv. pt. i. p. 277 n.

[1] The *Annals of S. Disibod.* (near Mainz), an. 1093, say: "Cunradus, filius Henrici imperatoris patri suo hac de causa rebellavit." They then proceed to tell in very plain terms the story of Henry's vile treatment of his wife, set forth in the preceding note. Ekkehard of Aura (*Chron.*, 1099) also says that Henry's immorality was the cause of Conrad's rebellion. "Quod . . . suæ ab illo discessionis causa extitit." See preceding note.

[2] Bernald, 1903, and Landulf the younger, *Hist. Mediol.*, c. 1, ap. *R. I. SS.*, v. Landulf junior, born about the end of the eleventh century, wrote a history of Milan (1095–1137) which is generally acknowledged to be more reliable and learned than that of Landulf senior. Belonging to the party of reform, he did not escape the persecution which was their ordinary lot.

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wretched existence, had he not been prevented by his attendants.[1]

All this success of Urban's friends in the north of Italy had its effect in the south. Urban, who had spent the greater part of the year 1093 in going about southern Italy from one town to another, holding a council at Troya,[2] and promoting the observance of the Truce of God, was able to make a peaceful entry into Rome in November.[3] Unhappily for him, however, though Guibert was with Henry in the north talking about resigning in order to bring peace to the Church,[4] his party held the castle of St. Angelo. Again helped by Pierleone, Urban took up his abode in a fortress near S. Maria Nuova,[5] viz. in the massive Turris Cartularia of the Frangipani.[6] Again, too, because he was unwilling, says Bernald, "to take up arms against Roman citizens," he patiently endured the trouble which the antipope's followers caused him, and lived in great distress and poverty under the protection of John Frangipane. This time his wants were supplied by the famous abbot Geoffrey of Vendôme, who in a very touching letter has modestly left on record what he did for the Pope. Although his own abbey was but poor, he at once set out for Rome when he heard of the straits to which Urban was reduced, "that he might share his toils and troubles and relieve his needs as far as he could."

The Pope back in Rome, 1093.

[1] So at least it was reported. "Ibique diu absque regio dignitate moratus nimioque dolore affectus, se ipsum, ut aiunt, morti tradere voluit," etc. Bernald, 1093.

[2] Bernald, 1093.

[3] Ep. Ivonis 27, ap. *P. L.*, t. 162. "De ipso papa hoc tibi dico quia mense Novembri cum eo Romam pacifice intravi."

[4] Bernald, 1094.

[5] *Ib.*, and *Gesta Atrebatensia*, ap. Watterich, i. 589 n.

[6] "Prope S. M. Novam in quadam firmissima munitione" (Bernald, 1094); "in domo Joannis Fricapanem" (Geoffrey of Vendôme, ep. i. 8).

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During the Lent of 1094 the generous abbot remained with the Pope. Before its close, Ferruchio, Guibert's governor of the Lateran Palace, offered to surrender it to Urban for a sum of money. As Urban and all his bishops and cardinals were unable to raise the required amount, Geoffrey gave him what money he had, and, selling his horses and mules to raise more, had the pleasure of handing over the Lateran to the Pope, "where I was the first to kiss the foot of the Lord Pope, seated on the apostolic throne, on which for a long time previously no Catholic Pope had sat."[1] The charity of the worthy abbot brought him the affection of the Pope, who treated him, as Geoffrey tells us himself, "like an only son."[2]

The escape of Praxedis, 1094.

It was in this year that the unfortunate Praxedis made her escape to Matilda from the durance vile in which she had been retained by her husband. The countess at once took her to the Pope, who had come north in the summer. Throwing herself at his feet, she poured forth to Urban her sad story amidst the tears and sobs which her shame wrung from her.[3] The whole empire was soon ringing with the story of her wrongs. Men had no difficulty in forgiving her flight from such a husband as Henry; they forgave

[1] Ep. i. 8, ap. *P. L.*, t. 157. *Cf.* i. 14, and 9. In this latter letter the good abbot was delighted to be able to say he had spent more than 12,000 solidi "in the service of the Roman Church." Valentini, in his little book, *De osculatione pedum Rom. Pont.*, Cologne, 1580, traces the custom of "kissing the feet" in token of veneration to remote antiquity, and shows that in the case of the Pope it was practised at an early date. One (No. 9) of the *Dictatus Papæ*, wrongly ascribed to Gregory VII., lays it down: "Quod solius Papæ pedes omnes Principes deosculentur." Jaffé, *Regest. Greg. VII.*, ii. 55 *a*. The shoes of the Popes are adorned with crosses to show for whose sake their wearers are revered.

[2] Ep. i. 11.

[3] *Ann. S. Disibod.*, 1094; Donizo, ii. 8; Bernald, 1094.

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the rebellion of his son, and abandoned his cause in crowds.[1]

The council of Piacenza, 1095.

Feeling that the time had come not merely to strike a well-deserved blow at Henry, but to push forward the ideas of his great predecessor both in the direction of reform and in the matter of sending help to the oppressed Christians in the East, Urban summoned a council to meet at Piacenza in the spring of 1095.[2] The story of the wrongs of Praxedis had spread widely; and, while many came to Piacenza hoping to see her cause taken up, many more came trusting that the interests of peace and reform would be advanced. Very great were the numbers that appeared to assist at the council. No church could hold them. It was said that nearly four thousand clerics and thirty thousand laymen attended the synod. It had to be held in the open air. The case of Henry's unhappy queen was first investigated. As Henry made no attempt at defence, and the proofs of his guilt were convincing,[3] Praxedis was publicly declared innocent, and not liable to the penance assigned to adultery. Passing over in this place the council's treatment of Philip of France, and Urban's first suggestions of the Crusades,[4] we may here note that as

[1] "Hoc quicumque scelus cognoscebat fore verum,
Spernebat regis sectam pariterque Guiberti.
Partibus in cunctis pars Petri maxime surgit."
Donizo, *l.c.*

Cf. Bernald, 1095, who tells us that Conrad "totum robur paterni exercitus in Longobardia obtinuit."

[2] Jaffé, 5531 (4137). *Cf.* Bernald, 1095. "Papa . . . inter ipsos scismaticos et contra ipsos generalem sinodum condixit"

[3] The Pope and the synod "ipsam tantas spurcicias non tam commissise, quam invitam pertulisse, *pro certo cognoverit*." Bernald, 1095.

[4] The *Historia monasterii novi Pictavensis*, ap. Martène et Durand, *Thesaur.*, iii. 1220, speaking of this synod, says: "In quo hujus sancti præcinctus (the Crusades) prima verba prolata sunt." This fragment, written by a monk called Martin, was published after 1125.

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usual simony and the marriage of priests were condemned, as well as the antipope and his accomplices, and the heresy of Berengarius. Various disciplinary decrees were also passed by the synod.[1] That Urban was able to hold such a council in the very middle of Lombardy is proof enough that the Gregorian reformation was taking deep root even there, and that the power of Henry and his antipope in north Italy was of no account.

Urban and Conrad, April 1095.

After the council was over, Urban proceeded to Cremona to meet Conrad. The young king came out to greet him, and, in accordance with the usual custom of the time, for a brief space led the Pope's palfrey. After he had taken the customary oath, under which he guaranteed the Pontiff's personal security, and undertook to defend his claims to the Papacy, and his temporal rights both within and without Rome, Urban adopted him as a son of the Roman Church. He, moreover, agreed to help him to have and to hold the kingdom of Italy which had been given him by his coronation, and to bestow upon him the imperial crown when he came to Rome, always supposing that he observed the papal decrees, especially regarding investiture.[2]

To strengthen Conrad's position, and to enable him to obtain the money he stood in need of, the Pope and the Countess Matilda[3] advised him to seek the hand of the

[1] Bernald, *l.c.*; Donizo, ii. 8; Beno, *Contra decreta Turbani*, ap. *M. G. Libell*, ii. 408 ff. *Cf.* Hefele, *Conc.*, vii. 29 ff.

[2] "Salva scilicet ipsius ecclesiæ justicia et decretis Apostolicis, maxime de investituris." See a contemporary anonymous fragment, ap. *M. G. SS.*, viii. 474, and Bernald, *l.c.*

". . . Huic juveni quoque papa,
Credere si vellet sibi, regem non vetat esse."
Donizo, ii. c. 11.

[3] "Consilio Apostolici . . . et Mathildis . . . filiam Siculorum Calabriensiumve comitis sibi in matrimonium concedendam expetiit." Malaterra, iv. 23. Donizo (ii. 11) assigns the marriage to the advice of Matilda alone.

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very youthful (*admodum parvulam*)[1] daughter of Count Roger of Sicily. Urban pointed out to the count how honourable such a marriage would be for him, and how Conrad, aided by the money he would receive with his wife, would then be able to overcome the enemies of the Church.[2] Yielding to the Pope's persuasion, and to the advice of his barons, Roger consented to the proposals made to him, and Conrad was duly married to the richly dowered daughter of the count of Sicily.[3]

Urban goes to France, and returns to Rome, 1095–1096.

With Henry and his antipope now hopelessly discredited, with the one attempting to kill himself, and the other talking of resigning his usurped dignity, Urban thought he might safely go to France to crown the work he had begun at Piacenza. Of his doings among the French (August 1095–September 1096), which placed him more than ever in the forefront of European estimation, and which resulted in hurling the West on the East, we shall speak in the next chapter. Meanwhile we shall follow the course of the relations between Henry and the Pope till the latter's death (1099). When Urban returned to Italy (September 1096) after having set on foot the first Crusade, he found that the wheel of fortune had taken a turn in his great enemy's favour. The ill-assorted union between a spiritually-minded experienced woman of forty-three with a young man of less than half her age had broken, and Matilda was to all intents a widow again. It would seem that it was the hope of securing her estates that had induced the youthful Guelf to take the hand of the Great Countess. But when he found that his wife was determined to abide by the donation of her lands which she had

[1] So at least Bernald styles her; ad an. 1095.

[2] Malaterra, *l.c.* The Pope speaks of Henry "qui eum (Conrad) injuste oppugnabat."

[3] *Ib.* *Cf.* Ekkehard, *Chron.*, 1099.

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already made to the Church, Guelf no longer found her attractive. It was in vain that the youth's father came into Italy, and tried to bring about a reconciliation. Unable to accomplish his purpose, he threw himself into Henry's party in the hope that he might be able to compel Matilda to leave her property to his son.[1] For some time, however, his change of front did not bring much advantage to Henry's cause. His regular adherents did not at first trust their new-found ally, and the loyalty of the great mass of Rome's supporters was not shaken by the selfish desertion of their cause by Guelf and his son.[2]

Meanwhile, on his return to Italy (September 1096), Urban passed through Milan, and there preached against simony before an immense multitude; and, to impress upon them the great dignity of the priesthood, he assured them that the least cleric was a greater person than a king.[3] And though our sources say nothing about it, we may be sure that, as was his wont now on all occasions when he addressed great bodies of men, he urged upon them "the Jerusalem journey."

From Lucca to Rome, 1096.

Making his way to join the Countess Matilda,[4] Urban reached Lucca in November. Near this city, which may still be called ancient, he was met by a number of French Crusaders, headed by Robert, duke of Normandy, Hugh of Vermandois, the brother of Philip I. of France, and Stephen, count of Blois. After an interview with the chiefs, and with as many others as wished to see him, he

[1] "Ipsum etiam Heinricum sibi in adjutorium ascivit contra Matildam, ut ipsam bona sua filio ejus dare compelleret." Bernald, 1095.

[2] "Nam et fautores Heinrici non facile ejus (Guelf) persuasioni crediderunt," etc. Bernald, 1095.

[3] Landulf junior, *Hist. Med.*, c. 28.

[4] On Urban's testimony of her devotion to the Holy See, see ep. 63.

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gave them his blessing and sent them on their way to Rome rejoicing.[1]

Escorted by the Great Countess at the head of her troops, Urban moved on towards Rome, where, during his absence, the state of parties had remained much the same. It was not that there had been peace; there had been fierce fighting in Rome and in the adjoining country, and we read of a certain John Paganus, perhaps a noble of the Campagna, "who had inflicted a great deal of suffering on the Romans" of Urban's party, being beheaded and ignominiously buried in a dunghill.[2] But Urban entered the city surrounded by a very great number of people, without any fighting, though the troops of the antipope were still in possession of the castle of St. Angelo. This we learn from Urban himself.[3] It is often stated on the authority of later writers[4] that it was the arms of the Crusaders which introduced the Pope into his city. This is a mistake. Though some of the Crusaders who passed through Rome were grossly outraged by the followers of the antipope, they do not appear to have retaliated. What happened to them we learn from an eye-witness. "When we entered the basilica of St. Peter," says Fulcher,[5] "we found the followers of the imbecile Pope Guibert with

[1] "Et ab eo benedictione suscepta, gaudentes Romam ivimus." Fulcher, *Hist. Hierosol.*, i. 2, ap. *P. L.*, t. 155. *Cf.* Malmesbury, *De gest. reg.*, iv. c. 2.

[2] *L. P.* "Miserabiliter . . . in sterquilinio et sepultura asinorum est sepultus." *Cf.* ep. 22 on the general conduct of Guibert's followers.

[3] Writing to Hugh of Lyons (ep. 216), he says: "Usque ad Urbem cum Com. M. (the Countess Matilda) *pacifice* venimus, urbem honestissime cum procedentium stipatione frequentissima introivimus. Urbem ipsam majori jam ex parte habemus."

[4] Viz., the *Annales Zwettlenses*, and Otto of Frising (*Chron.*, vii. 6) both of the twelfth century. But the testimony of Otto is *verbatim* that of the annals.

[5] *Loc. cit.*

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swords in their hands, plundering the altars of the gifts placed upon them. Others, mounting on to the beams of the church, pelted us with stones as we knelt in prayer; for they wished to kill every faithful adherent of Urban." Though the Crusaders were shocked at these outrages, Fulcher expressly assures us that they did nothing but pray God to punish them.[1] With all Europe hanging on Urban's lips and obeying his behests, the extinction of the influence of Henry and his creature followed as a matter of course. So that Ivo of Chartres, contemplating northern and central Italy in the power of Conrad and Matilda, could congratulate the Pope[2] that "the kingdom of Italy" was almost wholly at peace.

Lateran council, and departure of Henry from Italy, 1097.

The material prospects of the Pope continued to improve. He was able to hold a council in Rome in January (1097), and in May was gladdened by the news that Henry, after an almost continuous residence in Italy of seven years, had quitted it. Whether he was driven out by Matilda,[3] or took advantage of the opening of the passes of the Alps by his new ally Guelf, he was, at any rate, never to set foot in it again. His return to Germany brought him but little improvement in his position. In Italy, shut up in Verona, he had had hardly more power or state than a second-rate baron; and when, "with a few followers," he moved from one place to another in Germany, he was wholly unable to assume the status of a sovereign. Instead of being the revered leader of Christendom arising in its

[1] *L.c.* "Sed nihil aliud facere potuimus, nisi quod a Domino vindictam inde fieri optavimus."

[2] "Urbano . . . cum Petro pugnare, et cum Petro regnare." He speaks of Conrad "ita ut novus rex ad voluntatem Dei et vestram in manus vestras se dederit." Ep. 43.

[3] "Ipsa . . . tandemque Heinricum de Longobardia satis viriliter fugavit." Bernald, 1097.

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might against the Moslem, he was a despised wanderer,[1] in whose affairs nobody was concerned, and himself taking no interest in the great movement which was agitating Europe from end to end.

Religious movement in Germany. Urban confirms the brethren of the common life.

The state of turmoil in which the action of Henry had kept Germany for so many years resulted in astounding manifestations not only of cruelty and impiety, but also of piety and charity. Horrified at the deeds of violence they saw all round them, men began to loathe the ways of the world around them, and to tire of its barbarities. While many in high position left the world altogether, and sought the peace of the cloister, many more, both men and women, whilst remaining in the world, led the life of religious, often attaching themselves to some monastery to be directed by its monks or nuns. This kind of community life in the world was taken up even by whole villages, and there was seen the edifiying spectacle of an "innumerable multitude" of both high and low, men and women, devoting themselves to religious exercises, and to the daily service of their neighbours. As Urban had himself when in Germany been a witness of the good which this wide-spread movement was effecting, he had no hesitation in approving of it, and setting it down as holy and Catholic.[2] It was an anticipation of the "third order" of St. Dominic and of St. Francis.

Guibert loses Argenta, 1098.

While Henry was in the forlorn condition we have described above, some of his adherents were working more for themselves than for their king. The selfish Duke Guelf of Bavaria was vindicating for himself against his brothers in Italy the inheritance of his father Azzo (†1097).[3] But

[1] "Heinricus cum paucis Ratisponam . . . devenit, et ibidem totam æstatem . . . satis private moratus, tandem Nemetum migravit, itidem ibi satis private diu moraturus." Bernald, *ib.*

[2] Bernald, an. 1091, p. 1407. [3] *Ib.*

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if that was to some extent an advantage for the cause of Henry, the loss of Argenta by Guibert[1] more than counteracted it (1098). This strong castle, "on which the antipope greatly relied," was situated to the north of Imola, on the Po de Primaro, and gave to its owner the control of the river Po in its neighbourhood.

The Pope among the Normans, 1098.

After celebrating Christmas (1097) and Easter in Rome with great pomp, Urban left the city to seek help among the Normans to enable him to render his position safe by securing the castle of St. Angelo. He had pacified the outlying districts of Rome,[2] and if that galling thorn of Crescentius were removed, the whole city itself also would be at peace. But to get aid in men from the Normans was out of the question. Like the rest of Europe, south Italy was preparing for the Crusade, but those of the Normans who were not occupied with it were, with their Duke and Count Roger, besieging revolted Capua.

The castle of St. Angelo is given up to Urban, 1098.

But if he could not induce the Capuans to come to terms with the Normans,[3] and if, consequently, the latter could not go to fight for him, they could give him money.[4] Of this his agents in Rome made such prompt use that the castle was surrendered to Pierleone on the vigil of St. Bartholomew (August 23, 1098).[5] Gold, compromise, and steel soon completed the little pacification required after the surrender of "the house of Crescentius."

Urban, however, did not return to Rome immediately after he had learned that he was master of St. Angelo. He had still work to do in south Italy. In return for

[1] Bernald, 1097. [2] *Ib.*, 1098. [3] Malaterra, iv. 27.

[4] The *Annales Zwettlenses* (ap. Watterich, i. 572 n.) tell of Urban journeying among the Normans, and "pecuniam magnam collegit, per quam corruptis eis, qui castrum Crescentii servabant . . . tota Roma potitur."

[5] *Cf.* the twelfth century catalogue ap. Watterich, *ib.*, 571 n.; and Bernald, 1099.

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the assistance he had received from the Normans, and as a practical proof of the gratitude he was always professing to them for having expelled the Saracens from Italy and Sicily,[1] and, moreover, no doubt, as a concession to importunate demands on the part of the powerful court of Sicily, he felt called upon to show them some special mark of his favour.

The Normans had always shown themselves friends of the Holy See, but they were calculating friends. They measured their friendship almost exactly by what advantages they were likely to win out of it for themselves. Their kings liberally professed respectful obedience to the Popes, but were careful, as far as ever they could, to keep all power, both of Church and State, in their own absolute hands.

Count Roger made a papal legate, 1098.

The Church in Sicily had, it may be said, been entirely swept away by the Saracens. Hence, on the conquest of the island by Roger, it fell to the lot of Popes Gregory and Urban to reorganise its hierarchy. But the count began immediately, both overtly and with true Norman wiliness, to try to arrange everything in his own way. He brought about the election of Robert as bishop of Troïna without waiting for the presence at it "of the legate of the Apostolic See, or for the consent" of the Pope. Gregory, it is true, confirmed the election, but he gave the count distinctly to understand that such elections were not to occur again.[2] After this pronouncement of Gregory, the next bishopric, that of Syracuse, seems to have been

[1] "Sicut nostris temporibus gloriosissimorum principum Roberti ducis et Rogeri comitis fortitudine supremæ dignationis miseratio omnem Saracenorum molestiam in Sicilia insula expugnavit. . . . Unde et ipsius ineffabili misericordiæ gratias agimus, et ipsius gratiam super illos egregios fratres . . . imploramus." Ep. 242. *Cf.* ep. 239.

[2] Ep. Greg., viii. 47 (ix. 24). This letter perhaps belongs to the year 1082.

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canonically re-erected[1] (1093). But Roger soon returned to his arbitrary ways, and even went the length of arresting Robert, bishop of Troïna - Messina, whom Urban, "without consulting him," had named his legate in Sicily.[2] At what period Roger thus imprisoned the bishop who had been the object of his own selection is as uncertain as nearly everything else connected with the refoundation of the episcopal sees of Sicily. At any rate, Urban cancelled his nomination, and some satisfactory solution of the affair was arrived at between the count and himself; for we find the latter not long after conferring extraordinary privileges upon Roger. These are contained in a document addressed "to his most dear son, Roger, Count of Calabria and Sicily." It begins by declaring Roger adopted as a special and most dear son of the universal Church, because of the manner in which God had deigned to exalt him by his victories; because of his having by them extended the Church of God; and because of his having ever shown himself devoted to the Apostolic See. It then went on to say that, "having full confidence in the count's uprightness," no legate of the Roman Church should, against his will, be

[1] Ep. 93, dated December 1093. The bull was addressed to Roger, bishop of Syracuse, and to his successors "canonice promovendis in episcopatu." After telling of the destruction of the Church in Sicily by the Saracens, and the cessation of the Christian religion therein for nearly 300 years, the letter tells of the expulsion of the Saracens by Roger, and of his selection of his namesake, "consilio episcoporum illius provinciæ," as bishop. The Pope says he confirmed the choice, and himself consecrated Roger. *Cf.* Malaterra, iv. 7.

[2] Malaterra, iv. 29. Urban had acted "comite inconsulto"; but reflecting that, in his temper, Roger would never suffer the arrangement to hold good, "cognoscens etiam ipsum comitem in omnibus negotiis ecclesiasticis exequendis zelo divini ardoris exfervescere, cassato quod de episcopo Trainensi fecerat, legationem b. Petri super comitem per totam Siciliam ponit," etc. In speaking of the arrest of Robert, I have followed Chalandon, *Hist. de la dom. nor.*, i. 347; but I do not know on what source he has relied in making the statement.

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established in "any portion of his dominions during his lifetime or that of his son Simon, or other legitimate heir of his body (*vel alterius qui legitimus tui hæres exstiterit*)." The count was further authorised to control with legatine power (*legati vice*) such legates as the Pope might send "ex latere nostro," seeing that he had hitherto been obedient to the Apostolic See and had "strenuously and faithfully helped it in its necessities." Finally, should the Pope notify him to send the bishops and abbots of his country to a council, it was to be within his power to send such as he thought fit.[1] From the words of Malaterra which immediately precede his quotation of this identical bull, it would appear that the document in question was rather a summary of the deed which left the papal chancellary than the actual deed itself. The words of the monk to which we refer show that there were various modifying clauses in the original papal bull which do not appear in the abridgment[2] which has come down to us. Thus, though the Pope undertook not to send a legate to Sicily, it was arranged that to deal with what concerned the jurisdiction of the Roman Church, he should send "chartularii" (no doubt legal officials), who, "with the assistance of the bishops of the province," should settle the matter in dispute. And though the Pope authorised Roger to decide what bishops he would dispatch to a council, this privilege of his was limited by the clause which stated that he would have to send a particular bishop if any question was to be treated of concerning him which could not be settled in his province.

Some authors, in fact, dwelling on these differences

[1] Ep. 239, July 5, 1098. *Cf.* Malaterra, iv. 29.

[2] In introducing "the privilege of Urban's authority," Malaterra professes to give not the full document, but its contents, its *sententia*, "cujus sententiam subtitulamus." *Ib.*

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between the bull as we have it, and the arrangements made between Urban and Roger, as detailed by Malaterra, and arguing from the unwarrantable deductions which later Sicilian monarchs drew from this bull,[1] have altogether denied its authenticity.[2] But, if the explanation just given of the language of Malaterra be allowed, the objections to the bull drawn from his words fall. Moreover, the document seems to harmonise in parts with another bull of Urban on Sicilian affairs,[3] and explains the fact that, in a mosaic of the Church of La Martorana (built 1143) in Palermo, our Lord is seen crowning King Roger, "who is represented in Byzantine costume, and wears the Dalmatian tunic, a strictly ecclesiastical garment, to show that the kings of Sicily were what Urban II. made them, hereditary apostolical legates, and therefore at the head of the Church in the island."[4] Though Urban did not make the kings of Sicily in general "hereditary apostolical legates," the mosaic, no doubt, does show that they claimed to be.[5]

Urban back in Rome, 1098.

After thus settling the affairs of the Church in Sicily by a compromise largely in favour of Count Roger, Urban made his way to Bari, and held a council where St. Anselm so much distinguished himself (October 1098).[6] Before

[1] For instance, that *all* the kingly descendants of Roger, and not his one immediate heir, were *ipso facto* legates of the Holy See, and could in turn delegate their power to others.

[2] Balan (*Storia d'Italia*, iii. 203) believes the bull to have been forged by Gianluca Barberio, a notorious impostor, who professed to have found the document (1528), but never produced the original, nor indicated the source whence he procured his document. The first edition of Malaterra (1578) gave the text of Barberio.

[3] Ep. 240.

[4] Hare, *Cities of Southern Italy and Sicily*, p. 487 f. Other Sicilian monuments show other Sicilian kings wearing the dalmatic. *Cf. ib.*, p. 504.

[5] On this subject of the legatine powers of the Sicilian kings see Chalandon, *l.c.*, i. 345 ff.; ii. 120, 232 ff., 595.

[6] *Cf. infra*, p. 290 ff.

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the close of November, Urban was in Rome, where he was to pass the few remaining months of his life in honour and glory. The city was wholly under his control, and the one dear object of his life's work, the recovery of Jerusalem from the Turks, was in sight. It was to take place (July 15, 1099) before his death (July 29), though so soon before it that he was not to have the pleasure of knowing that it was in Christian hands.

Urban's last council, April 24–30, 1099.

The last important act of his pontificate was to be marked by a final effort on his part to promote and advance the cause of the Crusades. He summoned a council to meet in Rome the third week after Easter (1099). One hundred and fifty bishops and abbots and "an innumerable number of clerics" responded to his call. After the confirmation of the acts of his predecessors condemning Guibert "and all his accomplices," and after the passing of various disciplinary decrees, Urban once more raised his eloquent voice in behalf "of the Jerusalem journey." He threw his soul into the long and earnest pleadings by which he besought his hearers to go and help their brethren in their arduous toils.[1] His words did not fall on deaf ears; and from Lombardy itself, hitherto the centre of the opposition to the Hildebrandine reform, there set out a body of Crusaders (1100–1102), among whom was the very brother of Guibert himself. It was indeed the last triumph of Urban II.[2]

His death, 1099.

Within three months of the close of this council "the venerable Pope Urban" had breathed his last[3] (July 29), while his praises were beginning to ring throughout the

[1] "De Jerosolimitano itinere multum rogavit, ut irent, et fratribus suis laborantibus succurrerent." Bernald, 1099. *Cf.* Labbe, *Concil.*, x. 615 ff.

[2] *Cf.* Riant, *Un dernier triompe d'Urbain II.*, p. 4 ff.

[3] Bernald, *ib.* *Cf.* Jaffé, sub. 5806.

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world.[1] He died in the house which had often given him shelter in life, viz., in the house of Pierleone, a little to the south-east of the theatre of Marcellus, and quite close to the Church of S. Niccola in Carcere.[2] Owing to the presence in the city of a number of the followers of Guibert, it was not thought advisable to take the Pope's body for interment to the Lateran, where his immediate predecessors had been buried. It was transported through the faithful Trastevere to St. Peter's, and there, beneath a handsome monument, laid to rest by the side of the tomb of Pope Hadrian I.[3]

Three several sets of verses are cited as epitaphs of Urban; but it is not known if any one of them was ever actually to be read on his tomb. Ordericus Vitalis quotes two of them in the beginning of his tenth book, and Dom Ruinart the third.[4] The longer one of the two, which we shall extract from Ordericus, is said by him to have been the work of an "eminent versifier" other than Pierleone, to whom he assigns the shorter epitaph. But some assert that he is mistaken, and that the longer one is the work of that "special son of the Holy Roman Church"[5] just mentioned. In any case, the poem runs thus:[6] "Odo, a canon of Rheims, who was made a monk of Cluny by

[1] "Victoria itaque facta (viz., the capture of Jerusalem), Deo et b. Petro ejusque vicario totus mundus laudes reddere cepit." *L. P.*

[2] *L. P.* The position of the house of Pierleone is also clearly marked in the *L. P.*, in vita Paschalis, ii. 303. "Qua Capitolii rupes edibus P. Leonis imminet."

[3] Duchesne, quoting Peter Mallius, *L. P.*, ii. 295, n. 14.

[4] Ap. *P. L.*, t. 151, p. 584. [5] Ep. Goffridi Vindoc., i. 9.

[6] The distichs given by Ruinart seem, I think, most like the real epitaph.

"Urbanum Papam quem Francia dixit Odonem,
Quæ regio tenerum protulerat puerum,
Vitales auræ morientem deseruere;
In quo sic orbis lingua diserta ruit
Ut simili careat doctore superstite mundus.
Hic igitur posuit flens sua Roma suum."

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(abbot) Hugh, became an excellent Pope. While he lived he was the light of Rome; when he died it was eclipsed. The city flourished while he lived, and languished at his death. O Rome! the laws which he gave you, and the peace he cherished, filled you with happiness, preserving you from vices within and from foes without. He was never swayed by the wealth of the rich, nor elated by praises and fame, nor terrified by the threats of the powerful. His tongue was remarkable for eloquence, his heart for wisdom, his conduct for worth, and his carriage for dignity. Through him the way is open to the holy city; our religion triumphs; the pagans are conquered, and the faith is spread through the world. As the rose, the most brilliant of flowers, is soon plucked, so fate swept off this distinguished prelate. Death possesses his mortal part, rest his soul, the tomb his corpse; nothing is left to us but his glory." [1]

"Urban," sings Donizo,[2] "was not like a reed shaken by the wind, but by his word did he cut down evil as with a knife. Heretics feared him as the snake does the stag. . . . The liberty of the Roman See suffered no decrease in his days. . . . He was a golden bishop of the finest lustre. It was an evil hour for Rome when it lost such a shepherd."

[1] Forester's translation.

[2] II. c. 11. *Cf.* the great number of contemporary eulogies of Urban given by Dom Ruinart in the last chapter (345) of his *Life* of that Pope. Guibert of Nogent (*Hist. Hierosol.*, ii. *init.*), a man, as Ruinart truly notes, by no means credulous, and of a religious cast of mind anything but womanly, assures us that miracles were wrought at his tomb. Hence he appears as a saint in many martyrologies. On the *cult* of Blessed Urban see Besserat, *Le B. Urbain II.* c. 6.

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CHAPTER III.

THE EAST AND THE FIRST CRUSADE.

Alexius I. and Urban, 1088.

ALTHOUGH Alexius Comnenus manifested the usual tendency of the Cæsars on the Bosphorus to interfere in matters religious, the difficulties in which he was placed by the attacks of the Turks and other more or less barbaric foes soon caused him to put himself on good terms with the Pope and the West. At an early period in his reign, he had forbidden the Latins who dwelt in the empire to use unleavened bread in the sacrifice of the Mass. With considerable tact Urban dispatched to remonstrate with the emperor the Greek abbot of Grotta-ferrata. So well did the abbot conduct the negotiations, that Alexius not only withdrew his obnoxious edicts, but in letters written in gold proposed to the Pope that a council should be held at Constantinople to settle the question as to what kind of bread should be used in the Mass. He begged the Pope to come himself with a number of learned Latins, in order that "the one Church of God might follow the same custom," and suggested that the council should be held in the course of the next eighteen months. According to Malaterra,[1] to whom we owe this interesting item regarding the ecclesiastical relations of the East and West, Count Roger of Sicily advised the Pope to accept the emperor's invitation. Unfortunately, the state of Rome prevented the advice from being carried out, at least to the letter.

Thecouncil of Bari, 1098.

But the idea of reunion between the two churches, or

[1] IV. 13. *Cf. supra*, p. 197 f.

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of a more close union between the eastern and western portions of the one church had been started, and was to go forward. Even yet it would seem that many were blind to the fact that the East was finally cut off from the Church. To facilitate the progress of negotiations, Urban formally absolved the emperor from excommunication[1] (1089).

At length, in October 1098, a council was held at Bari in presence of the Pope and of our own St. Anselm, who had come to Rome to tell his story of the stark tyranny of the Red William. At the feet of the saint sat his faithful biographer Eadmer, from whom alone we know any of the particulars of this council, for its acts are lost. One hundred and eighty-five bishops met together. Among them were a number of *Greeks*; but whether they were Greeks of Magna Græcia, or Greeks from the East, is not certain. From the silence of Byzantine historians, some have inferred that they were only "Italian Greeks." But though it may be conceded that such was the nationality of most of the Greeks, it would seem more probable, judging from the zeal of Alexius for reunion both before and after this council, that there were also Greeks from Constantinople present at it.

The council was held in the immense, fortress-like cathedral of St. Nicholas, with its three aisles divided by screens of granite or marble columns, and with its great central aisle spanned by three vast arches. This great basilica, Romanesque in plan, but showing "Saracenic colour and ornament, combined in the most *bizarre* manner with the wild energy of Norman feeling,"[2] was a suitable

[1] Bernald, 1089. "Domnus papa Constantinopolitanum imperatorem ab excommunicatione per legatos suos absolvit."

[2] *The Renaissance of Art in Italy*, p. 12, by Leader Scott. *Cf.* Hare, *Cities of Southern Italy*, p. 318. To commemorate this council, Archbishop Elias made a very curious episcopal throne (1098). "Its back

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place for the assembling of a number of bishops differing widely in nationality, speech, costume, and personal appearance.

After many points of Catholic doctrine had been illuminated by the Pope with his brilliant and well-reasoned eloquence,[1] the question of the *Filioque* was mooted. In his reply to the Greeks, who attempted to show that the "Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father only," Urban quoted from *De incarnatione Verbi*, a work which Anselm had once sent him. Pressed hard on the matter by some subtle objections from the Greeks, he called out in a loud voice, "Father and master, Anselm, archbishop of the English, where art thou?" The archbishop, who was seated in the same row with the principal members of the assembly, on hearing that the Pope called for him, rose and answered, "Lord and Father, what are your commands? Here I am." "What are you doing?" resumed the Pontiff. "Why do you keep silence like the rest? Come hither, I pray you, and take your place at my side. These Greeks would fain rob the Church of her integrity, and drag me down into their own pit of impiety. Help, therefore, help; it is for this that God has sent you hither." The prelates round about the throne of the Pope were now all in a bustle, changing seats and preparing a place for the stranger, who was with all ceremonious courtesy conducted to a seat on the steps of the throne. "Who is this?" "Where does he come from?" so ran the

rests upon a lion with a man's head in his paws (an ornament supposed to be a reminiscence of the throne of Solomon), and the front is supported by two half-kneeling Arabs . . . and by a queer figure of a man with a staff in his hand." Hare, *ib.*, 319.

[1] "Dum plurima . . . pontifex, facunda ratione rationabilique facundia diseruisset," etc. Eadmer, *Hist. nov.*, l. ii. In his *vita Anselmi*, c. 34, ed. *R. S.*, Eadmer makes but the briefest allusion to this council.

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whisper round the church. When silence had been restored, the Pope addressed the council on the learning and piety of their visitor, and in subdued tones told of the many persecutions he had suffered for justice' sake, and of his unjust exile.

"Rising up before the assembly, Anselm, under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, so carefully argued the subject, that one and all expressed themselves satisfied with his reasoning.[1] . . . When he had finished speaking, the Pope, earnestly gazing on him, said: 'Blessed be thy heart and thy mind, and blessed be thy mouth and the eloquence thereof.'"[2]

The opponents of the Catholic doctrine were condemned by the council, and, as we shall see later, it was only the intercession of Anselm that averted the indignation of the assembly from falling on the Red King. Whether the work of this council produced any effect in the East is not known, but of the *Filioque* controversy no more was heard in Greater Greece.

The first Crusade. (*a*) Its more remote causes.

But Urban did not look upon the East with the eyes of a theologian only; he regarded it as a politician also. The outcome of his mingled gaze was that he hurled the Catholic West against the Moslem East; he launched the Crusades.

Like every other great event, the Crusades had their roots in a distant past. Their remotest origin may be sought both in the natural feeling[3] which has ever

[1] Anselm's *De processione S. Spiritus* was a development of his speech on this occasion.

[2] Eadmer, *l.c.* Rule's translation (*The Life and Times of S. Anselm*, ii. 193 ff.) of this passage is here followed almost *verbatim*. *Cf.* Fortescue, *The Orthodox Eastern Church*, p. 203.

[3] "Movemur nescio quo pacto locis ipsis in quibus eorum, quos diligimus aut admiramur, adsunt vestigia. Me quidem ipsæ illæ nostræ Athenæ non tam operibus magnificis, exquisitisque antiquorum artibus delectant, quam recordatione summorum virorum ubi quisque

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prompted Christians of every clime to visit the scenes of our Saviour's toils, and in "the brotherhood of Christ." The Holy Places were surely visited during the three centuries of persecution. After Constantine's edict of toleration gave freedom to Christianity, they were thronged by devout worshippers from the most distant shores. Conspicuous among them were men from this island. "The Briton," writes St. Jerome,[1] "separated from our world . . . leaves the western sun and seeks Jerusalem." There has come down to us an itinerary of a pilgrim from Bordeaux[2] who visited the Holy Land (333) before the death of the emancipator of the Christian faith. Some were not content to see Jerusalem, they would live there. St. Jerome's distinguished penitent, St. Paula, who followed him to Palestine, wrote thence to a friend in Rome: "No doubt there are other good people elsewhere than here, but I stoutly affirm that here the foremost men in the world are gathered together." Examples of different virtues are set us by Gauls, Britons, Armenians, Persians, Indians, Ethiopians, and men from every part of the East. "They speak with divers tongues, but in their hearts there is but one faith."[3]

But in 637 Jerusalem was taken by the Arabs, and became a Moslem city. Christians could live therein only by payment of a heavy tax, and by submitting to humiliating conditions as to dress, customs, and the like. The stream of pilgrims to the Holy Land almost dried up during the next century and a half. But before the end

habitare, ubi sedere, ubi disputare solitus sit: studioseque eorum etiam sepulchra contemplor." So writes Cicero (*De legibus*, ii. 2) in a passage instinct with refined feeling.

[1] *Adv. Jov.*, ii.; epp. 44, 84.

[2] *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, ed. Geyer, ap. *Corpus SS. Eccles.*, 39.

[3] Ep. Paulæ inter epp. S. Hieron., 46, ap. *P. L.*, t. 22, p. 489. "Vox quidem dissona, sed una religio."

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of the eighth century better times began to dawn on the oppressed Christians of the Holy City. The warlike fame of Charlemagne lent weight to the petitions which he addressed to the great caliph Haroun-al-Raschid. He obtained from him the protectorate of the Christians of the Holy Land, and full rights over the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.[1] After this the alms of the faithful began to pour into Jerusalem; monasteries, churches, and hospices were built or restored,[2] and once again the flow of pilgrims to the holy places began to swell. With the general revival of faith which began in the eleventh century, and with the conversion at the same time of Hungary to the Christian faith which reopened the overland route to Palestine,[3] the pilgrimages grew in number and size.[4] Checked by the persecution of the mad Hakem, the Nero of Egypt, (1005–1021), and his destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (1010),[5] "the Jerusalem journey" was again resumed when his tyrannical treatment of his Christian subjects ceased. It was now indeed often undertaken by such numbers of pilgrims travelling together as to constitute veritable armies. Even the renewed persecution of Al Mostancer (1036–1094), Hakem's second successor, did not daunt those who longed to see where their Lord had lived.[6]

[1] With Eginhard, *Vita Caroli*, c. 16, *cf.* his annals, ad ann. 797 and 800, and the *Chron. Moissiac.*, an. 801, etc. See Brehier, *Les Croisades*, p. 23 ff.

[2] *Cf.* Capit. 64, c. 18, of Charlemagne, an. 810. "De elemosina mittenda ad Hierusalem propter æcclesias Dei restaurandas." *Cf.* Mon. Sangall., ii. 9, ap. Jaffé, *Monumenta Carol.*, p. 679.

[3] "Consuetum iter quod erat per fretum maris." R. Glaber, *Hist.*, iii. 1, n. 2.

[4] *Ib.*, iii. c. 7. *Cf.* iv. 6.

[5] Guy le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 202 ff., London, 1890.

[6] Siegfried, archbishop of Mainz, writing to Alexander II. (1064) of his intended journey to Jerusalem, says: "Quem (our Lord) quia corporaliter nequeo videre in sede majestatis ejus, saltem vel hoc recreet desiderium meum, si detur adorare in loco, ubi steterunt pedes

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But if during the eleventh century the Moslem frequently oppressed the Christians who dwelt in the East, and took his money and not unfrequently his life from the Western pilgrim who came to visit the land which he kept in his fanatical grip, many a Western warrior was learning the way to Palestine, and many a Western palmer, on his return to Europe, told the tale of Moslem exactions and cruel oppressions. The West was being gradually aroused. Already, about the time of the destruction of the temple of the Holy Sepulchre, there were wild rumours of armies of Westerns throwing themselves upon the East.[1]

The sullen discontent with the Mohammedan sway in the Holy Land, which had permeated Europe before the third quarter of this century was over, was fanned into activity by the rise of the Seljukian Turks. Fear and indignation filled the breasts of the thoughtful men of the West when they heard that wild hordes of Turks from Siberia had put an end to the temporal power of the Caliphs of Bagdad (1053),[2] had broken the power of the Byzantine Empire in the fatal battle of Manzikert[3] (1071), and, after a terrible destruction of Christian churches and people, had made themselves masters of the Holy Land, and of Asia Minor to within sight of Constantinople.[4]

ejus." Ep. ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 54. On the persecutions of Hakem and Al Mostancer, see Schlumberger, *Zoe et Theodora*, pp. 23, 204, 766 n.

[1] See a curious passage of Adhemar of Chabannes, *Chron.*, iii. 47. After telling of the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre, he adds: "Nam Judei occidentales epistolas miserunt in Orientem, accusantes Christianos, mandantes exercitus Occidentalium super Sarracenos orientales commotos esse."

[2] Osborn, *Islam under the Kaliphs of Bagdad*, p. 297 ff. and p. 313 ff.

[3] A town in Armenia near Lake Van.

[4] Jerusalem fell into their power about 1076, Antioch in 1084, and Smyrna in 1092. According to Conder in his fascinating *The Kingdom of Jerusalem* (1099–1291), the Turks took Jerusalem in 1072, and pillaged it again three years later (p. 4).

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But long before the banners of the Sultanate of Rum[1] had been stirred by the breezes of the Black and Mediterranean Seas, the bitter cry of the suffering Christians of the East had been heard in Rome. The Popes hearkened to their sighs, and endeavoured to stir up the nations of the West to their help. Gregory VII. longed in person to lead an army against the Turks, and Pope Victor III. actually succeeded in bringing about a united expedition of various Italian states against the Moslems of Africa.[2]

(*b*) The more immediate causes of the Crusades.

The Seljuks had reduced the empire of Constantinople to such pitiable straits that the emperors themselves began at length to look for help where their stricken subjects had already besought it. After sustaining a severe defeat in Thrace at the hands of the Patzinaks (1088), Alexius I. secured from Count Robert of Flanders, who was returning from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, the promise of a support of 1500 knights.[3] A year or two later (1091), his ambassadors found the Pope in Campania, and begged him to use his influence that armed assistance might be sent to their master.[4] For a similar purpose his ambassadors appeared before the council of Piacenza (1095). Moved by the sad tale they had to tell of the cruel ravages of the Turk and Patzinak, Urban induced many to promise on oath to go to the defence of the Eastern Empire.[5]

[1] So was called the new Seljukian kingdom of Asia Minor.

[2] *Cf. supra*, pp. 60 ff., 198, 241.

[3] Anna, *Alex.*, vii. 6, 355. *Cf.* Muralt, *Chronog.*, p. 623; and Chalandon, *Alexius I.*, p. 117. There would seem to be little doubt that the famous letter of Alexius to Count Robert is at least so far authentic that it represents a reminder from the emperor (1088–1089) of the engagement made by the Flemish count. *Cf.* Chalandon, *ib.*, p. 325 ff.

[4] Bernald (1091 *init.*) tells of the embassy, and Anna (*Alex.*, viii. 5, 401) shows her father expecting succour from Rome in the April of the same year. Chalandon, *l.c.*, pp. 129–132.

[5] Bernald, 1095.

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It was now that reflection on the needs of empires and of pilgrims began to lead Urban to entertain wider views with regard to the East. He saw that the battle of Manzikert, leading to the loss by the Eastern Empire of practically all its Asiatic possessions, and to the establishment of a Moslem kingdom within sight of Constantinople, had dealt a fatal blow to Byzantine power. He had to listen every day to the distressing story of continued Moslem oppression of the Christian pilgrim to the Holy Land, and of the Christian resident therein. Nor could he be unmindful that, since the consummation of the Greek schism, even the Greeks had begun to treat the Western pilgrims with an injustice which had called forth a strong protest from Pope Victor III.[1] By no powers of eloquence could he hope to arouse the West to fight for the Byzantine Empire. But the faith with which it was then burning would move it to fight for unrestricted access to the scenes of its Saviour's sufferings. For that he would urge the entire West to take the sword against the Moslem. The road of the pilgrim would then be made secure, and the Eastern Empire would be saved.[2]

As he moved along from Piacenza to France, his ideas and aims became more definite to himself, and he no doubt unfolded them to others both by word and writing as he journeyed on. The news of the great things which Urban was maturing went before him. The minds of men became full of what was to come, and when it was

[1] Muralt, *Chronog.*, p. 60, n. 1.

[2] "Divino instinctu admonitus (Urban) gentes christianorumque populos cœpit commonere atque ad sepulchrum Domini locaque sancta de manu iniquorum auferenda piorum animos cœpit invitare: contigit eundem Papam *ejusmodi gratia* ad Galliarum regna transitum facere." Mention is then made of the council of Clermont, "et sic illa verba quæ quasi præoccupando in Placentino concilio prolata sunt, in evidentiam et ostentationem sanctæ militiæ." *Hist. monast. novi Pictavensis*, ap. Watterich, i. 598.

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noised abroad that he was to hold a council in Auvergne, bishops and priests, nobles and commoners began to move towards its mountains from all airts and parts of France.[1]

The council of Clermont, Nov. 1095.

Leaving Italy in the month of July, Urban was at Valence on the Rhone on August 5. The reception he met with in France was altogether unprecedented,[2] and he began at once to issue orders for the assembling of a council at Clermont on November 18.[3] While awaiting that date, he went to different towns and monasteries, confirming the privileges of the latter, and consecrating churches and altars.[4]

The fateful time arrived at last, and the old lava-built town of Clermont welcomed within its walls Pope Urban and his cardinals, thirteen archbishops, two hundred and twenty-five bishops, over ninety abbots, and a great number of secular princes.[5] To proclaim a war which was to stir up the West from its very depths, and for generations to hurl its living, fighting masses on the shores of Asia, no better site could have been chosen than the volcanic city of

[1] That the Crusades were the work of Urban is now generally acknowledged. Hence Mr. D. C. Lea (*The American Histor. Rev.*, January 1906) proves that it was the spirit of Urban which gave rise to the Crusades. The popular idea that Peter the Hermit was their instigator "has long since been abandoned." "Viam Jerusalem instituit" says emphatically the author of the *Chron. S. Andreæ Castri Cam.*, iii. 19, ap. *M. G. SS.*, vii. *Cf. Le bienheureux Urbain II.*, p. lxxvii ff., Reims, 1887.

[2] Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta*, ii. 2. [3] Jaffé, 5570–5571 (4168–4169).

[4] *E.g.*, at Cluny, *ib.*, 5583 (4179).

[5] Ep. 106. *Cf.* Bernald, 1095. Malmesbury (*De gest. reg.*, iv. c. 2) gives the number of bishops and abbots as 310. From another letter of Urban (ep. 165) it appears that, at least when the Gallic primacy of the archbishop of Lyons was decreed, there were present 12 archbishops, 80 bishops, and 90 abbots. Although the king of France showed himself favourable to the assembling of the council, some of his lawless nobles dared to seize bishops on their way to it. Epp. 155–156.

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Clermont. Perched on a hill well-nigh fifteen hundred feet above the level of the sea, it rests at the foot of a range of extinct volcanoes which rear their conical crests all round it.

The synod would appear to have been held in the ancient Romanesque Church of Notre Dame du Port. The official *acts* of the council are lost, but much can be gathered regarding its doings and its canons from contemporary historians. The decisions of Urban's previous councils against simony, clerical marriage, and investiture were re-affirmed, and Philip of France was excommunicated because he had put away his lawful wife, and was living in adultery with the wife of another.

Then the great question of the state of the Holy Land was discussed; and it was decided that an army of horse and foot should march to Jerusalem "to rescue it and the churches of Asia from the power of the Saracens." To encourage men to join the expedition a plenary indulgence was offered to such as took part in it, purely from the motive of the love of God, and not for glory or wealth.[1] For the same object the "Truce of God" was extended, and it was decreed that the goods of those who took the cross were to be inviolable. At the same time, or soon after, Urban decided who were not to undertake "the Jerusalem journey." We find, for instance, that monks and clerics were forbidden to join the expedition,[2] at least without the leave of their superiors,[3] and that young married men were to be discouraged from leaving their homes without the consent of their wives. In general, the bishops were enjoined to see to it that their subjects took the advice of

[1] "Quicunque *pro sola devotione*, non pro honoris vel pecuniæ adeptione, ad liberandam ecclesiam Dei Jerusalem profectus fuerit, iter illud pro omni pœnitentia reputetur." *Acta concil. Clar.*, ap. Watterich, i. 599, or Labbe, *Concil.*, x. 507. *Cf.* ep. Urb. 210.

[2] Geoffrey of Vendôme, ep. iv. 21. [3] Ep. Urb. 210.

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their priests before taking up arms.[1] What misery would have been averted had the sober counsels of the Pope been followed!

When the work of the council was over, Urban went forth from the church to a large open space behind it.[2] There, from a lofty platform, exerting his powers of eloquence to the full, he told the assembled multitude how word had been brought to him again and again, both from Jerusalem and Constantinople, that the Turks had invaded the lands of the Christians of the East, and had enslaved them, tortured them, and destroyed or appropriated their churches. The Holy Places were polluted. It was for the Franks, renowned for their warlike prowess, to cease turning their arms against one another, and in their teeming thousands to march to free the city of God[3] from the yoke of the infidel.[4]

Urban addresses the multitude.

No sooner had Urban finished speaking than there thundered forth from the multitude, in Latin and in the common tongue of the people, the cry of "God wills it! God wills it!"[5] Those present pressed forward to promise the Pope that they would themselves fight for the deliverance of the

Thousands take the cross.

[1] *Ib.* *Cf.* the close of Urban's speech at Clermont, ap. Robert the Monk, i. 2.

[2] Robert the Monk, who was present, *Hist. Hierosol.*, i. 1, ap. *P. L.*, t. 155.

[3] And so the Armenian Matthew of Edessa (*Chron.*, c. 150) says that the Franks came "to break the fetters of the Christians, to free the Holy City of Jerusalem from the yoke of the infidels, and to rend from the Moslem the sacred tomb which had received a God." See the French trans. of Dulaurier, Paris, 1858.

[4] With Urban's speech given by Robert the Monk, *cf.* those of Fulcher of Chartres (*Hist. Hierosol.*, i. 1, ap. *P. L.*, t. 155), Baldric of Dol, who was present (*Hist. Hierosol.*, i. *init.*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 166), and Guibert of Nogent (*Gesta Dei*, ii. 2). The headings of Urban's speech as given in the text are found, for the most part, in all four authors. *Cf. Gesta Francorum*, i. 2. The speeches put into the mouth of the Pope by later writers have no value.

[5] "Deus vult" (Robert, *l.c.*); "Deus lo volt" (*Chron. Cas.*, iv. 11).

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Holy Places, and that they would engage others to do the same.[1] They made haste, at the Pope's behest, to attach a cross to their cloaks or tunics, in silk, in cloth of gold, or in any material which came to hand, as a sign that they had taken up the cross of Christ in earnest. Then, whilst the immense multitude prostrated themselves on the ground, striking their breasts, Cardinal Gregory said the *Confiteor* (*dixit confessionem suam*), and all together begged the Pope's absolution for the sins they had committed. This, with his blessing, all received before they returned to their homes.[2]

One of the first to take the cross was Adhemar of Monteil, bishop of Le Puy, who, named his legate by the Pope, was to take a foremost part in the expedition.[3] August the 15th, 1096, was fixed as the day when the march to Palestine was to begin, and Constantinople was named the trysting place.

To stir up those who could not be present at the council, Urban sent synodal letters relating to the Crusade in all directions;[4] and at his command special preachers, among them Peter the Hermit, aroused the people all over Europe. Urban himself, travelling from one city in France to another till the close of August 1096, preached the Crusade wherever he went. Indeed, it was never off his lips till he died. Council after council heard his call to the Holy War.[5] The maritime states were urged to furnish their ships,[6]

[1] Fulcher, *l.c.*

[2] Robert, *l.c.* Cardinal Gregory was to become Pope Innocent II.

[3] *Ib.* "Vice fungens apostolica, cunctum Dei exercitum prudenter et consulte rexit, et ad negotia peragenda vivaciter animavit." *Cf.* Robert, *l.c.*; Jaffé, 5608.

[4] Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist.*, ix. 3.

[5] Nîmes in 1096, ap. Jaffé, sub. 5650; Rome in 1099, *ib.*, sub. 5787.

[6] *Chron. Januense*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, ix. 31. "Populus Pisanus jussu d. P. Urb. II. in navibus 120 ad liberandam Jerusalem de manibus paganorum profectus est." *Ann. Pisan.*, ad an., ap. *M. G. SS.*, xix.

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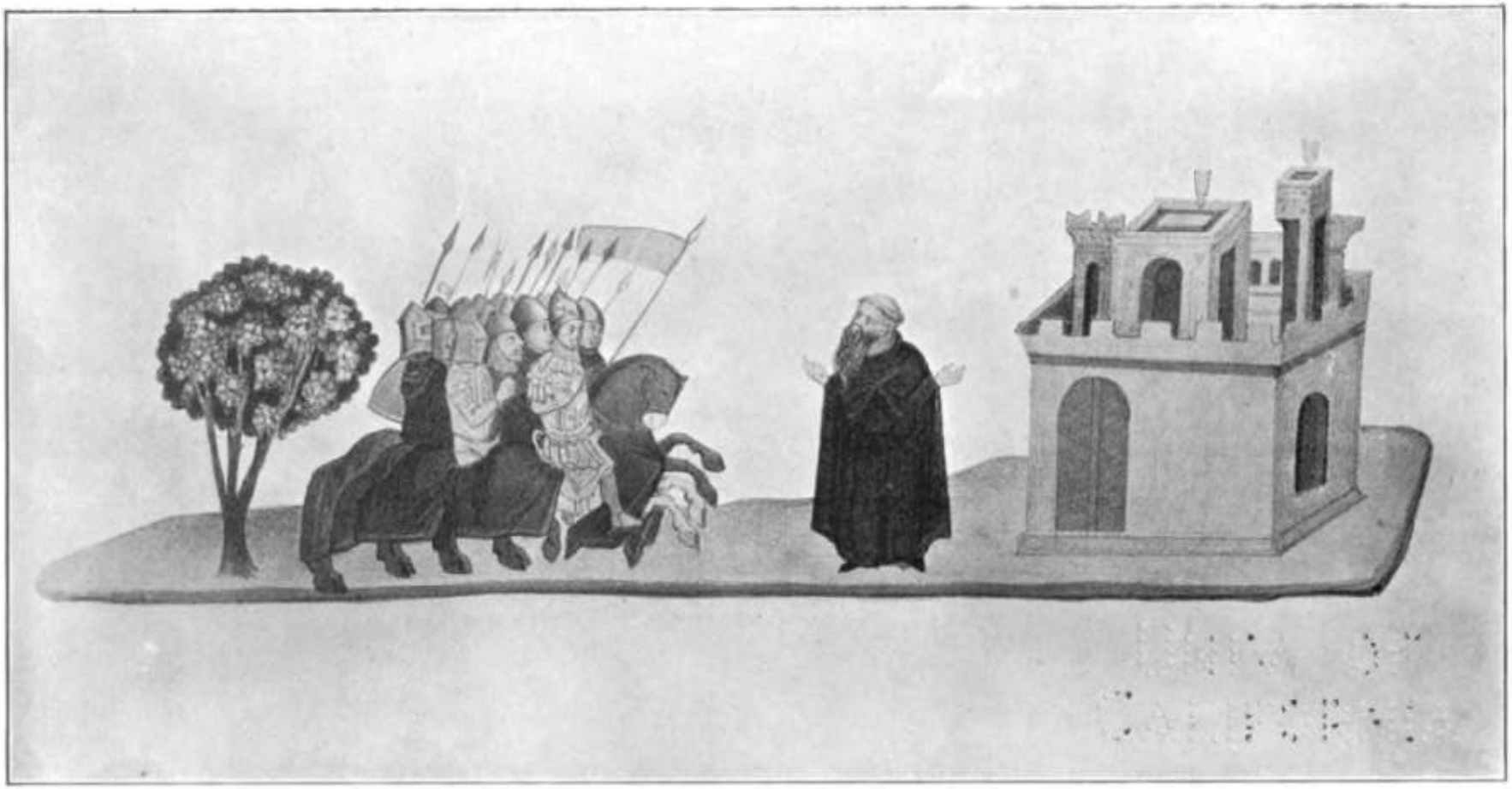

Peter the Hermit preaching the First Crusade. (From a fourteenth-century MS. of Marinus Sanutus.)

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inland cities to supply soldiers.[1] The note of war resounded throughout the West. Everywhere the great nobles began to enlist and drill men and to manufacture arms. At the word of the Pope, Europe became a barracks, an armoury, and a camp; while in town and country, o'er hill and dale, rang out the song of the Crusade.[2]

The Crusaders set out for Palestine, 1096.

So great was the excitement which the thought of fighting for the deliverance of the Holy Land engendered throughout Europe, that many would not wait till the more regular armies were ready, but set out under any one who would lead them. "The Welshman," says William of Malmesbury,[3] "left his hunting; the Scot his fellowship with lice; the Dane his drinking party; the Norwegian his raw fish. Lands were deserted by their husbandmen, houses by their inhabitants; even whole cities migrated." The peasants shod their oxen like horses, and, placing their children on carts, set off to drive to Jerusalem; and you might hear the children asking whether any large town which they approached was not Jerusalem.[4] Within three months of the close of the council of Clermont, hordes of these undisciplined people began to move through Hungary towards Jerusalem. Some five such hosts, under Peter the Hermit, Walter the Penniless, and others, followed one another to Constantinople, proving a source of misery and dread both to themselves and others as they straggled onwards. They plundered and pillaged, massacred the Jews, slew, and were slain, so that but few of them saw

[1] Landulf jun., *Hist. med.*, c. 4.

[2] "Usque in fines orbis terræ sonus et amor eundi precrebuit"; and soon "de eis et cantica ubique diffusa et carmina quædam descripta habeantur." So wrote in 1133 a monk who was present at the council of Clermont. *Chron. S. Andreæ Castri Cameracesii*, iii. 21, ap. *M. G. SS.*, vii.

[3] *De gest. reg.*, iv. 2.

[4] Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta*, ii. 3.

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even the continent of Asia. Those few were soon cut to pieces by the Turks.

1096 At length, about the time designated by the Pope, the more disciplined bands began to march by different routes towards Constantinople. There were Lorrainers, Germans, and Frenchmen from the north under Godfrey de Bouillon and his brother Baldwin. Normans, other Frenchmen, and English[1] were under the command of Hugh of Vermandois, brother of Philip of France, Robert, duke of Normandy, and Stephen of Blois. Raymond of St. Gilles, count of Toulouse, led the French of the south, with whom went Adhemar, the papal legate, whom all were supposed to obey.[2] The Normans of south Italy were led by the astute, self-seeking Bohemund, and his nephew, the generous and heroic Tancred. "The light of the sun from the world's creation," says our own historian, Henry of Huntingdon,[3] "never shone on so splendid an array, so dread, so numerous an assemblage, so many and such valiant chiefs—the most illustrious men that the Western world had given birth to in any age, all bearing the sign of the cross, all the bravest of their several countries. . . . It was the Lord's doing, a wonder unknown to preceding ages, and reserved for our days, that such different nations, so many noble warriors, should leave their splendid possessions, their wives and children, and that all with one accord should, in contempt of death, direct their steps to regions almost unknown."

Letter of the Pope to Alexius.

When the Crusaders had entered on "the way of God,"

[1] That the English went with Robert of Normandy is asserted by Conder, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 23. *Cf. Ang.-Sax. Chron.*, 1096.

[2] Baldric, *Hist. Hierosol.*, i. p. 1069. "Belli dux," Urban calls him. Ep. 212.

[3] *Hist. Anglorum*, l. vii., sub ann. 1096-1097, Forester's translation. Exactly similar sentiments may be noticed in *Chron. Cas.*, iv. 11.

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Urban lost no time in communicating the fact to the Emperor Alexius. He told him that, in virtue of the general decision at Clermont to wage war on the Saracens, some "300,000 men had assumed the cross," among them 7000 "of the picked youth of Italy." He impressed upon the Byzantine monarch that the one important thing was that he should assist the Crusaders with men and provisions, and should help on in every way he could "this most just and glorious war."[1]

The capture of Jerusalem, 1099.

This is not the place to tell the history of the first Crusade. Suffice it to note here that though he did not live to know it, the desire of Urban's heart was in part, at least, fulfilled. Despite the distrust and suspicion with which Alexius viewed the Crusades, and the utter want of any hearty and effective co-operation with them on his part; despite the difficulties of distance and climate; despite the strenuous opposition of the Turks; despite the ambitious designs of several of the Christian leaders, which led them to abandon their comrades-in-arms in order to carve out principalities for themselves; and despite the lack of that discipline among the Crusaders themselves which can only be secured by one man in a position to enforce obedience to his orders—despite these almost superhuman obstacles, the Crusaders carried Jerusalem by assault a few days before the death of Urban (July 15, 1099).

A king and *patriarch* of Jerusalem are chosen.

Godfrey de Bouillon was chosen to rule the country they had conquered, but he would not take the title of king, for he would not, he said, wear a crown of gold where the King

[1] Ep. 212. "Unum illud imprimis est necessarium, ut tuo præsidio commeatuque tantæ copiæ juventur." Had Alexius acted in the single-hearted way the Pope begged him, the first Crusade would have had a much more lasting result. It does not require much to justify a war with the Moslem, as "war necessarily arises from the first principles of his religion," as Sybel (p. 3) truly observes.

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of kings had worn a crown of thorns.[1] He became "the defender (*advocatus*) of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre."[2] The chiefs did not, however, proceed to elect a patriarch, as Adhemar, the papal legate, had died in 1098, and they considered that the new patriarch should "be appointed by the determination of the Roman Pontiff."[3] It is true that on the death of the bishop of Le Puy, Urban had at once sent out a new legate in the person of Daimbert, or Dagobert, bishop of Pisa; but owing especially to difficulties of every sort put in his way by Alexius, he did not reach Jerusalem till the beginning of the year 1100.[4]

The election of a patriarch.

Meanwhile, however, a small clique of the clergy, who since the death of Adhemar[5] had got a little out of control, elected a certain Arnulf de Rohes, a *capellanus* of Robert, duke of Normandy, as patriarch in succession to the Greek patriarch Simeon, who had died at Cyprus[6] (1099). It would seem, however, that the chief clerical and lay lords of the Crusaders would not recognise this election of Arnulf. Though learned, he was the son of a married priest, had not received all the major orders, and was,

[1] So says that collection of laws and customs known as the *Assises of Jerusalem*, which was put into its present form in the thirteenth century. "Il ne volt estre sacré ne coroné à roy el dit royaume, por ce que il ne volt porter corone d'or la ou le roy des roys Jesu Crist le Fis de Dieu porta corone d'espines." *Assises*, c. 1, ap. *P. L.*, t. 155. *Cf.* William of Tyre, *Hist. rer. transmarin.*, ix. 9, ap. *P. L.*, t. 201.

[2] See his letter to Paschal II., ap. *P. L.*, t. 163, p. 448.

[3] Malmesbury, *Hist. reg.*, iv. 2; and Fulcher, i. 19. *Cf.* Tyre, ix. 1. Albert of Aix (vi. 39) also says that the election of a patriarch was deferred.

[4] Bernald, 1098, who also calls him Theobert. He says he was sent that "illis in omnibus apostolica vice adesset et æclesias in locis unde pagani expulsi sunt instauraret." Anna, *Alexiad*, xi. p. 849 ff.

[5] Raymond of Agiles, *Hist. Hierosol.*, c. 40.

[6] "Elegerunt patriarcham quemdam sapientissimum et honorabilem virum, nomine Arnulfum in die S. Petri ad vincula (Sunday, August 1)." Anon. *Gesta*, xxxix. 3. *Cf.* Raymond, *l.c.*, c. 41. "Arnulfus . . . a quibusdam in patriarcham eligitur."

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according to some authorities, a man of loose character.[1] Besides, as we have seen, they did not think it right to act in such an important ecclesiastical affair without the consent of the Pope. They would appear, however, to have recognised him in the meanwhile as chancellor of the Church of Jerusalem.[2]

On the arrival of the papal legate Daimbert at Jerusalem, the election of Arnulf was examined and declared void, and the legate was himself chosen as the first Latin patriarch of Jerusalem.[3] His first act was to grant, in the name of the Pope, the investiture of the kingdom of Jerusalem and the principality of Antioch to Godfrey and Bohemund respectively.[4]

Urban's continuous work for the Crusades.

It had been the wish of Urban, as it had been that of Gregory, to go himself with the Crusaders to Jerusalem. But the one was prevented from accomplishing his desires by his troubles with Henry IV., the other by the opposition of all his advisers.[5] Through the presence of his legate, however, the Crusaders fought "under his leadership and that of St. Peter."[6] Besides, he never ceased working for their success, both by his words and his letters. In every way he could, he encouraged men to assume the cross; and though the taking of it was everywhere left an absolutely voluntary act, he did not easily dispense from their obligations those who had once affixed it to their right shoulders. "Pope Urban," says Ordericus,[7] "had sanctioned by his universal authority, and by his apostolic

[1] Raymond, *l.c.*; Guibert, *Gesta*, viii. 14. [2] Albert of Aix, *l.c.*

[3] Guibert, *ib.*, viii. 15.

[4] Tyre, *ib.*, ix. 15. The story and character of Arnulf are not too clear; but the narrative in the text would seem to be well founded. Pope Paschal II. regarded Arnulf as an intruder. Ep. 23, ap. *P. L.*, t. 163.

[5] "Tota Dei ecclesia pergere illum cum eis non permittebat." *L. P.*

[6] *Ib.* [7] *H. E.*, x. 11, al. 9.

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commands had insisted that it should be the rule throughout all Christendom (*Latinitate*) that all who had taken the cross of Christ, and had changed their minds and had not gone to Jerusalem, should in the name of the Lord undertake a corresponding journey, or pay the penalty by incurring excommunication."

As the Crusaders pursued their long and arduous way, Urban ever kept in touch with them. One of their letters to him has come down to us. It is addressed by Bohemund, Raymond of Toulouse, Godfrey, Robert of Normandy, and others, "to the venerable Pope Urban," and offers him their greetings and true homage in Jesus Christ. They tell him of the siege of Antioch and of the discovery of the Holy Lance,[1] and how at length "our Lord Jesus Christ had subjected all Antioch to the Roman religion and faith." After informing him of the death of his legate, they beg him to come to them himself with as many as possible. "What is more fitting than that you, who are the father and head of the Christian religion, should come to the original city of the Christian name (Antioch), and should bring to a successful termination the war which is yours. . . . If you come to us, and with us finish the *way* we have begun through you, the whole world will be obedient to you."

Although, as we have seen, Urban was not permitted to carry out his own wishes and those of the Crusaders, and betake himself to the Holy Land, he never ceased till his dying day labouring for their interests both by word and work. The success of the first Crusade was the work of Urban II.; its shortcomings were the result of the human weakness of the many. We may take our leave of it, thanking God with Urban "for deigning, especially in his

[1] "Lanceam Dominicam qua Salvatoris nostri latus Longini manibus perforatum fuit." Ep. Principum, ap. Fulcher, i. 15.

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time, after so many ages, to relieve the stress under which the Christians were suffering, and to exalt the faith. For in our days, by the might of the Christians, has He struck down the Turks in Asia and the Moors in Europe, and graciously brought many once famous cities under the worship of the true faith."[1]

[1] Ep. 237.

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CHAPTER IV.

FRANCE, ENGLAND, AND OTHER COUNTRIES.

The divorce of Philip I.

AT a time when almost the whole of his native land "lay buried beneath the mists of confusion"[1] and anarchy caused by the evil deeds and example of a weak and vicious monarch, the influence of Urban wrought the same beneficial effect upon it as do the rays of the summer sun on the morning haze. The Pope's most pronounced move towards clearing the moral atmosphere of France was perhaps his opposition to the loose conduct of its king. For twelve years (1092–1104) did Popes Urban II. and Paschal II. employ every device of kindness and severity in trying to bring the adulterous Philip to a sense of his duty.

Between the years 1071 and 1074 Philip married Bertha, the daughter of Floris (or Florence) I., count of Holland, by whom he had a son and heir and a daughter. Some twenty years after, he became enamoured of the wife of his near relative Fulk Rechin, count of Anjou.[2] His base passion was reciprocated by the lady, Bertrada de Montford, whose sole title to praise, according to the author of the *Gesta* of the counts of Anjou, was her beauty, but who at least possessed in an eminent degree the art by which men as wise as Solomon are rendered fools, and by which

[1] Ep. Urb., 125. "Cum omnis pene Gallia erroris caligine jacet immersa." *Cf.* Notcher, abbot of Hautvillers († *c.* 1099), in his fragment, *De veritate reliquiarum S. Helenæ*, ap. Mabillon, *Acta SS. O. S. B. sæc.*, iv. 2, p. 154, on the reforming work of the Pope in the south of France.

[2] *Cf.* ep. 211 of Ivo of Chartres. *Cf.* Hugh of Flavigny, *Chron.*, ii. p. 383 f.

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foolish men like Philip I. of France are made veritable slaves: She eloped with the king (May 1092), who in the course of a few months found a bishop worthless enough to pronounce the marriage service over them (October).[1]

But the French episcopate as a body were not as subservient as William of Rouen. The proud and honourable position of the most uncompromising opponent of the king's baseness was held by the learned canonist, Bishop Ivo of Chartres. His courageous opposition soon brought him into trouble. Though he assured[2] the king that, in opposing him, he was really giving him a proof of his fidelity, inasmuch as what he was attempting would endanger his soul and imperil his crown, Philip nevertheless cast him into prison.[3]

Urban takes cognisance of the matter, 1092.

Affairs of such scandalous moment could not escape the notice of the Pope. On October 29 he dispatched a letter to the bishops of the province of Rheims, in which he severely blamed them for allowing Philip to contract an adulterous marriage. "What has been done," he wrote,[4] "redounds to the confusion of the whole kingdom, to the discredit of your churches, and to your personal infamy." He commanded the archbishop to approach the king at once, and to urge him, in his own name, in name of God, and in that of the Pope, to cease from his sin forthwith. If he will not, then must he and they prepare to do their duty; and if Ivo is not released from prison immediately, they must excommunicate his captor, and lay an interdict on any place in which he may be detained.

Philip excommunicated (1) at Autun, 1094;

This strong letter was followed by the release of Ivo, who made use of his liberty to betake himself to Rome towards the close of 1093.[5] One result of the conferences

[1] Malmesbury, *De gest. reg.*, v., an. 1119. *Cf.* Brial, p. l.
[2] Ep. 15, ap. *P. L.*, t. 162. *Cf.* ep. 14.
[3] *Ib.*, ep. 22. [4] Ep. 68. [5] Ep. Ivo., 27.

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between the Pope and the bishop of Chartres was that the former ordered that a council of French bishops should be assembled thoroughly to investigate the whole question of the king's marriage.[1] Despite the efforts of Philip, Hugh, archbishop of Lyons, the Pope's legate in France, duly convened a council at Autun (October 15, 1094); and though Bertha had died in the meantime (1094), her false husband was by it declared excommunicated.[2]

(2) at Clermont, 1095.

As soon as this sentence was published, Philip dispatched envoys to Rome to get it annulled. To accomplish the end of their mission they were to spare neither promises nor threats. They were to declare that, unless their master were reinstated in his rights, he would withdraw himself and his kingdom from the obedience of Urban.[3] But "the seat of justice," after granting Philip a respite at the council of Piacenza, reaffirmed the excommunication at the council of Clermont.[4] Moreover, to show publicly to Fulk how much he felt the shameful way in which he had been outraged, he took occasion of the presence of Fulk at his Mass in the Church of St. Martin at Tours to present him with the Golden Rose (Lent 1096). This we learn from the count himself,[5] who adds that he at once made a law that it should in future be carried by himself and his descendants in the procession on Palm Sunday. The sequel will show how little Fulk deserved honour from anyone.

The Pope will not suffer any interference with his excommunication.

Kings have ever been able to buy the consciences of some men, and Philip was not more incapable than the rest of his class in this respect. He had secured some

[1] Ep. Ivo., 28. [2] Bernald, 1094. *Cf.* Brial, p. lx. ff.

[3] Ep. Ivo., 46. "Infatuare molientur *sedem justitiæ*."

[4] Giselbert of Mons (*Chron.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxi. 503) says that Urban "tanta constantia (Philippum) excommunicaverit, ut intercessiones spectabilium personarum, et multiplicium munerum contempserit." *Cf.* Bernald, 1095.

[5] Ap. Brial, p. lxxi.

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partisans among the episcopate, who would appear at the council of Tours (March 16–22, 1096) to have put forth that it was in their power to absolve the king from his excommunication. But the Fathers of the council, over which Urban presided in person, at once proclaimed that no one could loose where the supreme Pontiff had bound.[1] And the Pope himself issued a circular letter to the French bishops, reminding them that if the just excommunications of even simple suffragans could not be removed by their metropolitans, still less could any bishops undo the act of the Pope, who has no superior, but to whom even the patriarchs are subject.[2]

Philip repents, is absolved, and relapses several times, 1096-1104.

Finding at length that submission was all that was left for him, Philip sent Bertrada away, promised amendment, and was absolved by the Pope at the council of Nîmes (July 1096).[3] But of his oaths or solemn promises the miserable monarch thought but little. Bertrada was soon with him again; and again, through the action of the papal legate, Hugh of Lyons, was he placed under the censure of the Church[4] (1097). A fresh act of perjury on his part procured from the Pope a suspension of Hugh's censure[5] (1098), just as proof of the perjury brought a renewal of the archbishop's interdict by the Pope not long before his death.[6] But for ecclesiastical censures neither did the infatuated king nor some of the members of the hierarchy seem to care very much. When the church bells, which on Philip's arrival in a town all became mute, rang out

[1] Ep. Urb., 187.

[2] "Constat apostolicæ sedi ipsos etiam patriarchas divina institutione subjectos, cum noverint ab omnibus ad ipsum, ab ipso autem ad neminem appellandum, cum sciant, ei soli fas esse de omni ecclesia judicandi, ipsum vero nullorum subjacere judicio." *Ib.*

[3] Bernald, 1096; *Chron. Malleacense* (Maillezais in Bas-Poitou), ap. Brial, p. lxxiv.; ep. Urban., 285.

[4] Epp. Ivo., 66, 67. [5] Ep. Urb., 285. [6] Ep. Ivo., 84.

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joyfully on his departure from it, he is said to have laughingly observed to Bertrada: "Do you hear, my pretty, how they are driving us away?"[1] And when Urban died the bishops of the province of Rheims ventured to behave towards the king as though he were no longer under the ban of the Church; "as if," said Ivo of Chartres,[2] "they fancied that justice had died with its herald."

But Urban's successor, Paschal II., was the successor of his policy as well as of his throne, and at once sent two cardinal-priests, John and Benedict, into France, that they might vindicate the claims of that justice which never dies. They held councils, and they tried by personal interviews to move the abandoned king. Seeing, however, that their pacific efforts were useless, they resolved to excommunicate Philip once more in a council at Poitiers (1100). This they boldly did at the risk of their lives, for Poitiers was one of the king's cities, and his agents stirred up the people against the assembled Fathers. Some of them were seriously injured, but the heroic fearlessness displayed by the papal legates brought their assailants to reason and repentance.[3]

After this council the canonical rules regarding interdict and excommunication were put into operation more universally and strictly than before, and, what affected the wretched king still more, disunion and strife now began to show itself in the midst of his family. His son (afterwards known as Louis VI., the Fat) by Bertha now arrived at man's estate, and seeing how royalty was falling into contempt, began, only naturally, to conceive a strong dislike to Bertrada. His hostile feelings were more than reciprocated by the would-be queen. She tried to do away with him.

[1] Malmesbury, l. v., sub an. 1119. [2] Ep. 84.

[3] *Cf.* Flavigny, *Chron.*., ii. p. 385, and the other authorities ap. Brial, p. lxxxi. ff.

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This domestic trouble[1] especially seems to have made Philip once again wishful to make his peace with God and the Pope, at any rate in appearance. Ivo of Chartres, however, doubted his sincerity, and wrote urging the Pope, if he absolved him, "so to bind him with the keys and chains of Peter, that if, when absolved, he returned to the vomit, as he had done before, he might be immediately refettered."[2]

In 1102 Paschal sent into France Richard, cardinal-bishop of Albano, as his legate to arrange for the king's absolution. Different councils were held touching the matter, but nothing was decided. At length, however, came a letter from the Pope enjoining the bishops to accept Philip's protestations of repentance, if he "and the woman for whom he had been excommunicated" would swear that "they would for the future avoid all carnal intercourse, or indeed intercourse of any kind, except in the presence of persons above suspicion"[3] (October 5, 1104).

Final absolution of the king, 1104.

Philip lost no time in assembling the bishops at Paris, and, on December 2, took, with bare feet and most solemnly, the oath required of him by the Pope.[4] But after he had been formally reconciled to the Church, it seems certain that if his lips had sworn, his heart was yet unsworn. He

[1] Perhaps also "the toothache and scurvy" and the "many other infirmities and ignominies" with which Ordericus assures us (*H. E.*, viii. 20) "he was deservedly afflicted." It is most interesting to note, too, that, according to Guibert of Nogent (*De Pignoribus Sanctorum*, i., ap. *P. L.*, t. 156), speaking as an eye-witness, Philip's son Louis touched most successfully for the *king's evil*, and he adds that Philip himself lost the same power through his sins: "Cujus gloriam miraculi cum Philippus pater ejus alacriter exerceret, nescio quibus incidentibus culpis amisit."

[2] Ep. Ivo., 104; *cf.* epp. 105, 141.

[3] Ep. Pasch. II., 116, ap. *P. L.*, t. 163.

[4] Ep. of Lambert, bishop of Arras, the Pope's legate at the council, to Paschal II., ap. Brial, p. xcvii., or ap. *P. L.*, t. 163, p. 454.

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allowed himself apparently to be irrevocably ensnared by the charmer.[1] So successful were the wiles of this medieval Delilah, who to gain her ends is said not to have hesitated at any prostitution of her charms,[2] that she even succeeded in inducing her husband, Fulk Rechin, to acquiesce in the disgraceful position in which she had placed him. Whether because Philip's case was regarded as hopeless, or because he covered it over with lies, no further steps seem to have been instituted against him by the Church. And as typical of the situation we will reproduce a scene left us by the Abbot Suger, and with it take our leave of Bertrada and her two conjugal slaves. It is the autumn (October) of the year 1106. Bertrada is seated as queen by the side of Philip, and on a footstool at her feet sits Fulk Rechin, obedient, as though fascinated, to her every behest, and looking to her as a handmaid to her mistress.[3]

The Pope in France.

As we have already seen, one of the scenes of the tragedy of Philip's divorce was played whilst Urban himself was in France. After the council of Piacenza the Pope spent more than a full year in his native land, viz., from August 1095 to the end of the same month in the following year. Whilst there, the question of the king's marital relations occupied but a small portion of his time. His principal concern was the Crusade and all that was closely connected with it, such as the Truce of God. It is known that he preached the Crusade himself at Limoges, at Angers, and at Nîmes, as well as at Clermont. And

[1] *Cf.* the abbot Suger in his *Life* of Philip's son Louis (c. 12, ed. Molinier, Paris, 1887); Ord. Vit., *H. E.*, ix. 2; and the other authorities, ap. Brial, p. xcix.

[2] *Cf.* Ordericus Vitalis, *H. E.*, viii. c. 20, especially with the addition from the MS. of Christina, queen of Sweden.

[3] Suger, *in vit. Ludovic.*, c. 17. *Cf.* Halphen, *Le Comté d'Anjou*, p. 171.

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during his triumphal progresses from one end of the country to the other, we find him visiting and reforming monasteries, settling disputes, and purifying the episcopate. He had also to bring to obedience some of the archbishops of the country. The archbishop of Vienne had to be taught to obey the Pope's judicial decision regarding the extent of the jurisdiction of the bishop of Grenoble,[1] and regarding the bishop to whom the monastery of Romain-moutier on the Isère had to be subject.[2] And the archbishop of Sens had to be made to yield due submission to the Pope's legate, the archbishop of Lyons.[3]

Citeaux, 1098.

The most important link that connected Urban with France after he left it was his relation with the monastery of Citeaux,[4] for ever famous, if only because it was the home of St. Bernard. Robert, abbot of Molesmes, finding that the monks of his monastery were not disposed to submit to the very strict regulations which he wished to impose upon them, left them with some twenty of their number who were desirous of a stricter observance of the rule of St. Benedict. With these he retired to a desert spot, and on March 2, St. Benedict's Day, 1098, founded the new monastery, afterwards called Citeaux, and "that order whence were to issue unnumbered Popes, cardinals, and prelates, to say nothing of more than three thousand affiliated monasteries."[5] But the monks of Molesmes could not live without their late abbot, so they sent some of their number to Rome, and very strongly urged the Pope to compel Robert to return to them. Moved by their importunity, Urban wrote to his legate, Hugh of Lyons, to try to arrange the matter.[6] This the arch-

[1] Epp. 144, 163, 223. [2] Jaffé, 5591, 5609. [3] Ep. 165.

[4] Near Nuits, in the diocese of Chalôns-sur-Saône.

[5] Maitland, *Dark Ages*, p. 355.

[6] Ep. 295. "Molismensium fratrum magnum in concilio clamorem accepimus, abbatis sui reditum postulantium." *Cf. A Concise History of*

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bishop succeeded in accomplishing, while the Pope, with a view to giving stability to the new state of things, issued the following decree: "The utmost care must be taken lest a horrible schism be nourished in the house of God, . . . and, on the other hand, that the grace which is given from on high for the salvation of souls be not impiously extinguished. We, therefore, . . . ordain, by our apostolical authority, that the monks of Molesmes who prefer the general rules of the monastic order shall inviolably observe them, and not presume to desert their own monastery or adopt other customs. As for the Cistercians who make profession of keeping the rule of St. Benedict in all particulars, let them not by another change return to a system which they now hold in contempt."[1]

When Urban issued this decree to give stability to the new order, he who was to be known for ever as St. Bernard of Citeaux was about seven years old, and by his devotion to the Holy See was destined more than to repay it for what it had done for his community.

England.

William Rufus.

Accepted as king of England by the goodwill of Archbishop Lanfranc, William II., the Red, was crowned by him (September 25, 1087) on the understanding that he would govern the land with justice, and protect the Church. During the life of his benefactor, William observed his promises to some extent, but after the archbishop's death he proved in his public capacity an oppressor both of Church and State, and in his private life

the Cistercian Order, p. 58, by a Cistercian monk, London, 1852; and *Les origines de Citeaux et l'ordre Bénédictin au xii.e siècle*, by Dom U. Berlière, ap. *Revue d'hist. ecclés.*, Louvain, 1900, p. 448 ff.

[1] Ap. Ordericus, *H. E.*, viii. 26, al. 25,] *e.g.*, ed. *P. L.*, t. 188. "Cistercienses vero, qui sese S. Benedicti regulam per omnia servaturos jactitant," etc.

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a model of the basest vices. He "was never married," says Ordericus,[1] "having abandoned himself without restraint to lewdness and debauchery, setting his subjects an example of gross lasciviousness."

William of St. Calais in rebellion.

The early days of his reign were disturbed by a rebellion in which most of the Norman notables in England were engaged. Odo of Bayeux was its chief instigator, and one of its important adherents was a favourite of the king, William of St. Calais, bishop of Durham.[2] The rising was suppressed mainly through the loyalty of Rufus's English subjects; and much of the property of the diocese of Durham was alienated. Summoned before the king to answer for his treason (*c.* May 1088), the bishop of Durham, who had already written to remind him that "it was not within the competence of everybody to judge bishops, and that he would make answer to him according to his order,"[3] refused to be tried like a layman, and insisted on the privileges of his order. Again summoned a few months later before a mixed tribunal in presence of the king (November), William once more declined to allow the laity any jurisdiction over him.[4] Bishop Geoffrey of Coutances was disposed to argue that the accused ought to be restored to his full rights before he was called upon

[1] *Ib.*, x. 2.

[2] A glowing description of this bishop's virtues and useful deeds, which carried his fame even to Rome, is given by Simeon of Durham in the fourth book of his *Hist. de Dunelmensi Eccles.*, ed. Twysden. In iv. c. 2, we are told how, "by the apostolic authority" of Gregory VII. and the goodwill of the Conqueror, he replaced the secular clergy attached to the Church of St. Cuthbert by monks.

[3] See a document in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. i. pp. 244–250, ed. London, 1817, written either by William himself or by one of his northern partisans. It is taken from a beautiful MS. of the Bodleian Library.

[4] "Domini barones et laici, permittite me, quæso, quæ dicturus sum regi dicere, archiepiscopis et episcopis respondere, quia nihil vobis habeo dicere." *Ib.*, p. 246.

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to defend himself. But Archbishop Lanfranc and the others, clerics as well as laymen, held that he must acknowledge the jurisdiction of the mixed court before any restorations were made him. This, as "against the canons and against *our law*,"[1] the bishop refused to do.

He appeals to Rome.

Finding, however, that Lanfranc continued to press the validity of the jurisdiction of the court, William, in imitation of St. Wilfrid, turned to Rome, "because," he said, "I perceive that the hatred of the king towards me causes all of you to hate me. I appeal to the Apostolic Roman Church, to Blessed Peter, and to his vicar, to whom the ancient authority of the apostles, of their successors, and of the canons has reserved all important ecclesiastical causes and all decisions regarding bishops."[2] While granting the bishop's request to be allowed to proceed

[1] Freeman (*The Reign of William Rufus*, i. 104 n., Oxford, 1882), who has given a fuller account of this affair than any preceding writer, suggests that "our law" "refers to the False Decretals." This suggestion, however, would appear to be untenable. At this period they were universally acknowledged as themselves included in the canons. "Our law," in the mouth of a Norman bishop speaking to Norman bishops, would rather appear to designate the law which the Normans had brought from France. The imperial legislation of the first Christian Roman emperors began at once to grant all kinds of immunities to the Christian priesthood. They were soon authorised to carry all their civil causes before members of their own order; and a decree of Constantius was interpreted to mean that bishops, at least, were not amenable even to the criminal courts (*Cod. Theodos.*, xvi. 2, 12. "Mansuetudinis nostræ lege prohibemus episcopos accusari"). Mr. Boyd notes that "all efforts to revoke it failed," and that the privilege of "examination of criminal charges against bishops by the ecclesiastical authorities prior to any action in the secular court" was "extended to the *entire clergy in the Frankish monarchy*." It is no doubt to this exemption that William appealed. *Cf. The Ecclesiastical Edicts of the Theodosian Code*, by W. K. Boyd, p. 92 f.; New York, 1905.

[2] "Apostolicam sedem Romanam, et b. Petrum ejusque vicarium appello . . . cujus disposicioni majores causas ecclesiasticas, et episcoporum judicia antiqua apostolorum . . . autoritas reservavit." *Ib.*, p. 247.

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to Rome, the court declared that his fief was forfeited. Again rejecting its jurisdiction for that of Rome, "where justice rather than violence was meted out,"[1] William forwarded his appeal to the Pope, and left England after some enforced delay, in the eighth year of his episcopate.

Urban takes cognisance of the appeal, 1089.

Not having a good case, he did not on this occasion go to Rome in person; but from the court of Robert, duke of Normandy, where he took up his abode, he sent to Urban his own version of his dispute with the king. Writing to Rufus on receipt of the bishop's appeal, Urban confined himself to stating the case as it had been put to him, and to insisting on the fulfilment of the ordinary requirements of canon law. "We have heard that, without just cause, you have driven the bishop of Durham from his bishopric; that, contrary to the canons, you have stripped him of his goods, and then forced him to appear before your court; and that, when he appealed to Rome, you in many ways prevented him from coming to us. Conduct such as this, as you doubtless are aware, is an outrage on us, as we perceive that it is wholly opposed to God and to the decrees of the holy Fathers. We therefore implore your charity, and by apostolic authority order, that he be restored to the full rights of his bishopric, and that you suffer him to come to us with such properly qualified accusers of his conduct as may exist."[2]

As this letter is the last echo of this affair which has reached our ears, we may conclude either that William ceased to press his appeal, or that Urban, better informed, declined to offer any further support to the rebellious

[1] Dugdale, *ib.*, p. 248.

[2] Jaffé, 5397; Loewenfeld, *Epp. PP. Rom. ined.*, p. 63. This letter seems wholly unknown, not only to Freeman, who wrote before its publication, but to Stephens and other recent writers. We have, therefore, given all of it that is extant. It is one of the fruits of Mr. Bishop's discovery. See vol. iii. p. 233 of this work.

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bishop. At any rate, after a year or two (1091) William contrived to reinstate himself in the king's favour, and lived long enough to prefer it, in the case of St. Anselm, to that of the Pope. But in thus thinking "to save his life" he lost it; for he died under the king's displeasure when about to be tried for treason.

Herbert of Losinga, bishop of Thetford,

Before treating of the relations of that great saint with Rufus and with Urban, we may glance at an episode in the career of Herbert of Losinga, first bishop of Norwich. It will serve still further to define the attitude of the English hierarchy towards the Holy See both in theory and in practice. It helps to show that, despite the efforts of tyrannical monarchs to usurp ecclesiastical authority, the only spiritual head of the Church which our bishops acknowledged at this time was the Pope of Rome. It, moreover, throws light on the working of the Gregorian reform.

When the See of Thetford became vacant in 1091, the promise of a thousand pounds to Ralph Flambard, the vile, usurious minister of Rufus, enabled the Englishman,[1] Herbert of Losinga, to become its occupant.[2] But as he was possessed of that which "makes cowards of us all," he was at length filled with remorse for his simony, and resolved to resign his bishopric into the hands of the Pope. Ever keeping before his mind the saying of St. Jerome, "we have sinned in our youth, let us repent in our age," he repaired to Hastings, intending to cross from there to the continent (February 1094). Though his intention was for a time frustrated by the king, he contrived to elude his watchfulness and to make his way to Urban. Into his hands he resigned his pastoral staff and his episcopal ring,

[1] Not a Norman, as is stated by Mr. Stephens, *Hist. of the English Church*, ii. p. 79. See the remarkably careful and elaborate *Life, Letters and Sermons of Bp. Herbert de Losinga*, by Goulburn and Symonds, in two vols., Oxford, 1878. *Cf.* vol. i. p. 5, etc.

[2] Simeon of Durham, *Hist. reg.*, 1094.

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humbly confessing his guilt at the same time. His humility touched the Pope, and he at once restored him to his see.[1] On his return to England he devoted himself with renewed zeal to learning and good works. With the approbation of Pope Paschal II.,[2] he removed his see to Norwich, a town "celebrated for its trade and populousness," and left an enduring monument of himself in the cathedral we behold to-day.

St. Anselm becomes archbishop of Canterbury, Dec. 1093.

The learned but somewhat Erastian bishop of whose sin and repentance we have just spoken was one of those bishops who assisted at the consecration of Anselm of Aosta as archbishop of Canterbury.[3] In telling the story of the struggle between this profound philosopher,[4] this gentle teacher and loving friend,[5] this saintly prelate, and that greedy, lustful tyrant, the Red William II., we are really narrating the beginnings of that great struggle for English liberty which was to be secured by the Magna Carta, the Bill of Rights, and those other great charters which, during the course of the centuries, were to be wrung from our kings. In appearance Anselm was simply contending for the freedom of the Church from the temporal

[1] *Cf.* William of Malmesbury, *De gest. reg.*, iv. c. 1; *De gest. pont.*, ii., ap. *P. L.*, t. 179, p. 1519 ff., and the other authorities cited by Goulburn, i. p. 357 ff.

[2] Ep. 514, ap. *P. L.*, t. 163, p. 432.

[3] So, at any rate, says Goulburn, whose account of Herbert seems to be here more chronologically accurate than that of Freeman. *W. Rufus*, i. p. 355, and Append. x. in vol. ii.

[4] "Anselm has deservedly been regarded by the most competent judges as the father and founder of Christian philosophy in the Middle Ages." Montalembert, *Monks of the West*, vii. 162.

[5] "Sanis pater, et infirmis erat mater, immo sanis et infirmis pater et mater in communi." Eadmer, *De vita Anselmi*, c. 13, *R. S.* He became as much beloved in England, whither business in connection with his monastery first drew him, as he was in Normandy. "Non fuit comes in Anglia seu comitissa, vel ulla persona potens, quæ non judicaret se sua coram Deo merita perdidisse, si contigeret se Anselmo . . . gratiam cujusvis officii tunc temporis non exhibuisse." *Ib.*, c. 31.

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power; in reality, he was working for the liberty of all, for he was engaged in putting a bridle on the arbitrary exercise of the monarch's will.

By the death of Lanfranc (May 1089) the last restraining influence seemed to have been removed from the Red King, and he resolved not to be fettered again. By keeping the archbishopric vacant, he could fill his coffers by appropriating its revenues, and he would at the same time lessen the chances of opposition to his illegal conduct.

For nearly four whole years, despite all remonstrance, was the See of Canterbury kept widowed. Before the end of that period, fortunately both for himself and the nation, Rufus fell ill (1093). With sickness came reflection, and he determined, on the advice of the one whom he was to name archbishop, to amend his conduct both as a man and as a king. The good angel of the king on this occasion was Anselm, abbot of Bec. Born about 1033 at Aosta, he became a monk at the famous abbey of Bec,[1] in Normandy, in 1060. Soon made its prior, he succeeded Herluin, its founder, as abbot in 1078. In this position, business often brought him to England, where he promptly secured the affection and esteem of all who came in contact with him.[2] Even Rufus lost his ferocity in presence of Anselm. As he chanced to be in England when the

[1] Where monks once sang the praises of God, and whence, through Lanfranc and Anselm, the light of learning was once shed over Europe, the visitor now hears the champing of cavalry horses. It is a pleasure to me, after being saddened myself by hearing this sound, to find Mr. Freeman (quoted by Dean Church, *St. Anselm*, p. 32) writing that the monastic buildings of Bec "are now applied to the *degrading* purpose of a receptacle of French cavalry."

[2] "The perfume of his virtue" had already reached Rome, and the great Gregory had written to tell him that "he held it for certain that his example would strengthen the Church, and his prayers snatch her from the dangers which threatened her." Jaffé, *Mon. Gregor.*, epp. coll. 33.

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king lay sick, he was brought to him as the one most likely to prepare him well for death, and he was the one selected by him in his illness to fill the vacant See of Canterbury. The king's nomination was eagerly ratified by the clergy and laity; but some months elapsed before Anselm could be induced to accept what was thrust upon him. Refusing to accept his crosier from the hands of the king, he, however, did homage to him for the lands of the see,[1] and was consecrated on December 4, 1093.

Differences soon arise between the king and Anselm.

Rufus no sooner recovered from his illness than he went from bad to worse. It would appear that the devil which Anselm had helped to drive out of him returned to him with seven others worse than himself. Differences soon arose between "the untamed bull and the weak old sheep," as Anselm described the king and himself. They came to a head when the archbishop wished to go to Rome to receive the pallium from Pope Urban. Now one "of the novelties" which the Conqueror had introduced into England was that no one should be acknowledged as the Roman Pontiff without his order.[2] William accordingly

[1] "Cumque raperetur ad regem, ut per virgam pastoralem investituram archiepiscopatus de manu ejus susciperet, toto conamine resisteret." Eadmer, *Hist. N.*, p. 32. *Cf.* p. 35, *R.S.* "Ille igitur, more et exemplo prædecessoris sui inductus, *pro usu terræ homo regis factus est.*" *Ib.*, p. 41. From these passages, and from those of other writers, Rule demonstrates completely against Freeman that Anselm was elected by the clergy and laity, and that he refused investiture by the crosier, but did homage for the temporalities of his see. See his *St. Anselm*, i. 431 ff., as well as the accurate narratives of Church, p. 180 ff., and Stephens, p. 88 ff. To the passages from Eadmer, quoted by Rule to show that Anselm refused investiture, we may add his preface to his *Hist. N.*, where he points out that from the time when William I. conquered England, Anselm was the first (apart from two special cases) who did not receive his bishopric "per dationem virgæ pastoralis."

[2] "Quædam de iis quæ *nova* per Angliam servari constituit ponam. . . . Non ergo pati volebat quemquam in omni dominatione sua constitutum Romanæ urbis pontificem pro apostolico nisi se jubente recipere." Eadmer, *Hist. N.*, pp. 9–10.

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declared that he had not as yet himself accepted Urban as Pope, and would not allow any of his subjects to do so without his permission. He would consider the man who made the attempt a traitor to the crown.[1] After further angry remarks from the king, it was agreed that a council should be summoned to decide whether, "saving the reverence and obedience due to the Apostolic See, one could preserve the fidelity he owed his temporal sovereign." "And if it is proved," added the saint, "that the two things are incompatible, then do I confess that I prefer to leave your territory till you acknowledge the Pope, than for the space of a single hour to deny obedience to Blessed Peter and his vicar."[2]

The council of Rockingham, 1095.

A great assembly of the lords spiritual and temporal of the country was accordingly held at Rockingham "on the northern edge of Northamptonshire" (March 11, 1095). Soon finding that he could get no support from the bishops, who either hoped or feared all things from the king, Anselm proclaimed his intentions and position to the prelates and peers in no uncertain tones: "I will resort to the Chief Shepherd and the Prince of all. To the Angel of great counsel will I turn, and crave the counsel I must follow in this affair: an affair which is not mine, but His and His Church's. Hear, then, what he says to the most Blessed Peter, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it: and I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven': and to the general college of the twelve, 'He that heareth you, heareth me, and he that despiseth you, despiseth me,' and 'He that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of my eye.' As these words were first and primarily (*principaliter*) addressed to Peter, and

[1] Eadmer, *Hist. N.*, p. 53. *Cf.* Anselm's letter, iii. 24. [2] *Ib.*

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through him to the other apostles, so do we hold them to be said now first and primarily to St. Peter's vicar, and through him to the episcopate, who take the place of the apostles, to him and to them, and not to the emperor, whoever he may be, not to king or duke or count. Whereas in what concerns our service and subjection to earthly princes, the same, the Angel of great counsel, instructs and teaches us, 'Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's.' . . . Know, therefore, that in the things which appertain to God I will yield obedience to the vicar of St. Peter, and in those which by law concern the territorial rank of my lord the king I will give faithful counsel and help to the utmost of my power."[1]

The king tries to win over the Pope.

The position taken up by the archbishop was one in which his bitterest enemies, least of all William of St. Calais, the most crafty of them, could find no flaw, so that to gain time the king gladly agreed to postpone the question till the octave of Whitsuntide. No sooner was the assembly broken up than Rufus dispatched two clerics of his royal chapel to Rome, first to ascertain for certain who was the true Pope, and then to induce him, when found, to send the pallium to him for the archbishop of Canterbury.[2] His crude idea was that, as no mention had to be made of any person's name, he might be able to give the archbishopric and the pallium to whomsoever he wished after he had got rid of Anselm.

The pallium sent to Rufus, 1095.

The envoys had no difficulty in finding out that Urban was the true Pope, and they so far succeeded in the matter of the pallium that it was entrusted to Walter, cardinal-bishop of Albano, for the king. They were even able to

[1] Eadmer, *Hist. N.*, p. 57. Rule's translation (ii. 58) is here used.

[2] *Ib.*, l. ii. p. 68. The envoys were, if possible, to induce the Pope "ut ipsi regi ad opus archiepiscopi Cantuariensis pallium, tacita persona Anselmi, destinaret, quod ipse rex, Anselmo a pontificatu simul et regno dejecto, cui vellet cum pontificatu vice apostolici postmodum daret."

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bring the legate secretly straight to the king. Not a word did he say to or for Anselm. The king was delighted. His clumsy plan was going to be successful. He caused Urban to be proclaimed throughout his dominions as the true Pope.[1]

The legate will not depose Anselm.

But his evil cunning was at fault. He was no match for the papal legate, who was at once good[2] and astute. His refraining from intercourse with Anselm, and his holding out hopes to the king, had caused men to say hard things about his master. "If Rome," said they, "prefers gold to justice, what hopes have those of justice who have nothing to give?" But when Urban had been proclaimed Pope, Rufus could not prevail upon the legate to help him to depose Anselm, though he offered him and the Roman Church an enormous bribe.[3] Nor did his disappointment end there. He could not prevail upon Anselm to purchase peace with him for money, nor even to accept the pallium from his hands. "That gift," the archbishop pointed out, "was not the king's to give; it could come only from the special authority of Blessed Peter."

Anselm takes the pallium.

Completely checkmated, and harassed moreover by rebellion, there was nothing for it but that the king should restore Anselm to favour. It was decided then that the legate should place the pallium on the altar at Canterbury "as from the hand of Blessed Peter."[4] Accordingly the cardinal went to Canterbury (May 27, 1095), "carrying the

[1] "Præcipiens Urbanum in omni imperio suo pro apostolico haberi, eique vice b. Petri in Christiana religione obœdiri." Ead., *H. N.*, l. ii. p. 69.

[2] Our old chronicle calls him "a man of very good life." *A.-Sax. Chron.*, an. 1095.

[3] "Egit (Rufus) post hæc quibus modis poterat ipse rex cum episcopo (Walter), quatinus Romani pontificis auctoritate Anselmum ab episcopatu, regali potentia fultus, deponeret, spondens immensum pecuniæ pondus ei et ecclesiæ Romanæ singulis annis daturum," etc. Eadmer, *H. N.*, *ib.*

[4] Eadmer, *ib.*, p. 72.

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pallium in a silver casket." When he drew nigh the city there went forth to meet him not only the monks of Christ-church and of St. Augustine's and a great number of clergy and lay-people, but the primate himself, barefooted, though clad in his sacred vestments, and supported by a number of bishops. Anselm then took the pallium from the altar on which it had been solemnly laid, and gave it to the people to kiss "to show their reverence for St. Peter."[1]

Anselm and the legate.

Although, after he had thus presented the pallium to Anselm, "Bishop Walter remained in this land during a considerable portion of this year,"[2] he does not appear to have been able to cultivate much friendship with our archbishop, who no doubt believed, and not without reason, that the cardinal had given a great deal more attention to the interests of his master than to his deserts.[3] He did not, however, bear him the smallest ill-will; but, when the cardinal was leaving the country, begged him to assure the Pope of his loyal affection for him, to ask his prayers for him, and to beg him to be ready to show him mercy, "should he ever have to fly to him in his anxieties." "May Almighty God," he wrote in conclusion, "send you his good angel to bear you company and speed you happily on your way."[4]

Anselm writes to the Pope.

At the same time he wrote to "the venerable Urban, respectfully to be acknowledged supreme Pontiff of the Catholic Church." He thanked him for the estimable legates and for the pallium he had sent him, and expressed his great desire to visit him, not only because he was in duty bound, but because he wished his advice in the

[1] Eadmer, *H. N.*, p. 73. "Ab omnibus pro reverentia S. Petri suppliciter deosculatum."

[2] *A.-Sax. Chron.*, 1095. "And the Rome-scot was afterwards sent by him, which for many years had not been done." *Ib.*

[3] See two of his letters (epp. iii. 35 and 36, ap. *P. L.*, t. 159) to Walter.

[4] Ep. iv. 115, *ib.*

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difficult position in which he was placed. Unfortunately, however, war held the country in a state of apprehension, and the king had hitherto refused to allow him to leave the country; but when there was peace he would strive to obtain permission to go to him. "And if ever, set as I am in danger of shipwreck; if ever, buffeted as I am by the blasts, I should be compelled in my distress to run for the haven of Mother Church, then for His sake who shed His blood for us may I find in you a kind and ready help and sympathy."[1]

Another legate in England, 1096.

In the early part of the following year there appeared in England another apostolic legate, Jarenton, abbot of St. Benignus at Dijon, the one who succeeded in escaping from the castle of St. Angelo, and in bringing Robert Guiscard to the rescue of Gregory VII.[2]

Hostilities were on the point of breaking out between Robert of Normandy and his brother Rufus. To avert this catastrophe, the Pope sent Jarenton to England.[3] Taking advantage, as it would seem, of his opportunity rather than commissioned for that purpose by the Pope, as

[1] Ep. i. 37, June 1095, Rule's translation.

[2] The only English writers, as far as I know, who have spoken of this mysterious embassy of Jarenton, are Rule (*S. Anselm*) and Freeman (*William Rufus*). It is known only from the narrative of Hugh of Flavigny (ap. *P. L.*, t. 154). He is not a very satisfactory authority at best, and Freeman notes (*op. cit.*, ii. 589) that "his friends in England found him perfectly ready to believe the wildest tales that they chose to tell him." His narrative of this embassy of Jarenton bears evidence on the face of it of not being altogether trustworthy. As Eadmer makes no mention of Jarenton either in his *Historia* or in his *Life* of Anselm, I am disposed to believe that the abbot had indeed been commissioned by the Pope to try to make peace between the brothers Robert and Rufus; but that he took upon himself to upbraid Rufus for his conduct. It seems to me that, conscious that he was not properly commissioned, he was easily discomfited by the trick of Rufus.

[3] "Pro componenda . . . concordia . . . abbas Divionensis ex præcepto papæ mare transierat." Hugh, *Chron.*, l. ii. p. 353.

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Hugh asserts, he upbraided Rufus for keeping bishoprics and abbacies vacant, and meanwhile confiscating their revenues, and for his encouragement of simony and clerical incontinence. He next proceeded to denounce certain concessions which, according to Hugh, had been granted Rufus by Cardinal Walter, against whose integrity our chronicler makes insinuations rather than specific charges.[1] The episcopal legate is asserted to have agreed that no legate from Rome to whom Rufus objected should enter England, and to have insisted that in the oath of fidelity which Anselm had to take to the Pope there should be inserted the words, "saving the fidelity he owed to his lord the king." With the archbishop's principles before him, we may be sure that Walter would never have ventured to suggest the insertion of any such clause. Anselm would certainly never have repeated it.

Before the monk's bold, incisive denunciations of his shortcomings Rufus quailed, and promised amendment; the Church in the country took heart, and "the liberty of the authority of Rome" once again received fresh life.[2]

[1] In the midst of his account of the convention which Walter is stated to have made with Rufus, Hugh inserts the following general statement about the cupidity of the Roman legates in England: "Et quia adeo auctoritas Romana apud Anglos avaritia et cupiditate legatorum viluerat, ut eodem Albanense . . . præcipiente . . . archiepiscopus fidelitatem . . . papæ juraverat salva fidelitate domini sui regis." If Hugh's general proposition could be proved, there is no proof that Walter betrayed his trust for money. What has been said of him already proves the contrary. It would appear that Hugh's object was to throw out in strong relief the courage and honesty of another monk. Hence his insinuations that the cardinal was made amenable to the king's wishes through his gold.

[2] "Ad cujus adventum quasi respiraret et resurgeret decus et vigor æcclesiæ Anglicæ et libertas Romanæ auctoritatis." *Ib.*, p. 354. A late writer, Ralph de Diceto (†1202), may be said to give some support to Hugh's statement that Walter did make some concessions to the king. "Walterus . . . reconciliavit P. Urbanum et Regem, *quibus tamen conditionibus* edisserat pro certo qui novit." *Abbrev. Chron.*, i. 225, *R. S.*

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Whether the king suspected or not that Jarenton was exceeding his powers in treating of other matters besides the impending war between his brother and himself, he sent, Hugh says, to the Pope, and for "ten marks of pure gold" (say £1600) procured the services of a nephew of his. This man, only a laic, gave out that the Pope had granted a postponement till Christmas of the discussion of the questions in dispute between Jarenton and the king on condition that part at least of the Peter's Pence (*debita b. Petro caritas*) due was paid him. To cover his ruse, as one may well suppose, Rufus pretended to be very indignant that Urban had suspended Jarenton's mission in such a summary way, and by such an unworthy agent. "In both public and private," says Hugh, "he railed against the Pope for treating a man so distinguished, and commissioned, too, by himself, in such a dishonourable manner as to suspend his legatine functions through the agency of a layman, neither furnished with proper credentials, nor commendable by his dignity or learning."

It is satisfactory to learn that, however unsuccessful were his efforts to reclaim the Red King, the abbot was at any rate fortunate enough to prevent war between the two brothers. For a large sum Robert pledged Normandy to Rufus, and set out for Palestine as one of the most distinguished leaders of the first Crusade.

Anselm again in difficulties with the king, 1097.

Between men with such different ideals[1] as Rufus and Anselm, and occupying such correlated and responsible positions, there could be no lasting peace. Again the

[1] Anselm was saddened not only because the churches and monasteries were going to decay, inasmuch as they were being robbed of their goods, and because there was a general relaxation of discipline; but because, owing to the example or favour of the king, it was impossible to remedy the growing evils. He decided, therefore, that he must seek the advice and help (*auctoritatem et sententiam*) of the Apostolic See. Ead., *H. N.*, l. ii. p. 79. *Cf.* Anselm's letter to Urban from Lyons.

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archbishop fell under the king's displeasure, and again, when he asked permission to go to Rome, the bishops sided with the king. Nor did they make any secret of the interested motives that caused them to cleave to him. "Go then you to your lord," broke out the saint, "and I will hold to my God."[1] After he had repeated his request several times over, he was simply told by the king that he must swear not to appeal to the Pope any more. "That," replied the archbishop, "is a demand which, as a Christian, you ought not to make. To take such an oath is to forswear Blessed Peter; and to forswear Blessed Peter is to forswear Christ, who made him the Prince of his Church."[2]

Anselm with the Pope, 1098.

Wearied out at length with the archbishop's importunities, Rufus, like the unjust judge in the Gospel, bade him begone and be out of the country in ten days.[3] Only too glad to obey, Anselm blessed the king, and left the country in November. Spending Christmas with the great abbot Hugh at Cluny, he reached Rome in the spring (1098), as the Pope had expressed a wish that he should make no delay.[4]

Anselm in Italy, 1098.

Arrived in Rome, he was most honourably received by the Pope, who lodged him beside himself in the Lateran Palace, and declared him, as it were, his "compeer, and the patriarch of another world."[5] When he had heard Anselm's story, he promised to help him, and at once wrote to Rufus, bidding him leave intact the property of the archbishop, and reinvest him with what had been taken away.

[1] Ead., *H. N.*, l. ii. p. 83. [2] *Ib.*, p. 86. [3] *Ib.*

[4] *Ib.*, p. 94. "Nescius moræ apostolicis jussis abaudit, viæ se periculis mortem pro Deo non veritus tradit." The dangers of the route were not imaginary. A report had got abroad that "the primate of England" was on his way to Rome "with a great store of gold." That was more than enough to make the partisans of Guibert desirous of capturing him; and, as Eadmer assures us, they had been known to put to death some of those they had thus seized.

[5] Ead., *in vit.*, c. 29.

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Although the English king tried both by letters and by gold to injure Anselm in the eyes of the Pope, his efforts were all in vain.[1] Wherever went Urban, to Capua, to Aversa, to Bari, thither went Anselm. The opportunities of intercourse with the Pope which this intimacy gave to our archbishop, he used to endeavour to induce him to relieve him of his episcopal burden. To this request, however, Urban would pay no heed, but, again promising him his assistance, bade him present himself at the council of Bari.

The council of Bari, 1098.

We have already seen[2] how Anselm distinguished himself at that council against the Greeks. After the question of the Procession of the Holy Ghost had been argued, the affairs of England came up for discussion. Not only were the public crimes of Rufus discussed, his simony, his treatment of Anselm, but the infamies of his private life were noted. "Of these," said the Pope, "complaint has been frequently made to the Apostolic See,[3] and on these subjects have I frequently admonished him." It was only the earnest supplication of Anselm that prevented sentence of excommunication from at once being passed on the wretched king.

Anselm in Rome with the Pope, 1098.

After the council was over the archbishop returned with the Pope to Rome. At the close of the year an envoy arrived there from Rufus. Though he had received the letter of the Pope in Anselm's behalf "with what grace he could" (*quoquo modo*), he would not receive Anselm's at all. When

[1] "Rex Angliæ . . . tam litteris quam largis muneribus omnes quos ratus est ei (Anselm) posse detrimento existere conatus fuerit adversus eum commonere . . . nihil profecit." Ead., *H. N.*, p. 98.

[2] *Supra*, p. 292 f. The Pope himself presided at the council, clad, as Eadmer notes (*H. N.*, l. ii. p. 107), not in a cope (*cappa*), but in a chasuble, over which he wore the pallium.

[3] "Ecce vita illius tyranni, qualis ad apostolicam sedem sæpe delata est." Ead., *H. N.*, l. ii. p. 106. Investiture was, however, condemned at this council, as we learn from a letter of Paschal II. (ep. 86, December 12, 1102, ap. *P. L.*, t. 163), who was present as one of the cardinals of the Roman Church.

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The Episcopal Chair in the Cathedral of Bari.

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Urban learnt from the envoy's own lips that the king did not put forth any other reason for appropriating the whole property of the archbishopric than that Anselm had left England without his leave, he bade him return, and let his master know that, unless he made restitution before the meeting of the council that was to be held in the third week of Easter, he would be therein excommunicated. Before the envoy left Rome, however, he contrived, by presents and promises of the same to various members of the papal court, to get the period of grace prolonged till Michaelmas (1099).[1]

Though the known recklessness of the character of Rufus, and the straits in which Henry and his antipope kept him, may excuse the temporising policy of Urban, it could not fail to sadden and disappoint Anselm. He asked leave to return to Lyons. This the Pope would not grant, but he made more and more efforts to soothe the archbishop's wounded feelings. He made him use the Lateran as though it were his own dwelling, and ever treated him as the next to himself. Not only was he thus specially honoured by the Pope, but the English who visited Rome strove to kiss his feet as they did those of the Pope, and even "the vast number" of Henry's supporters in Rome were afraid to do him outrage.[2]

When the Vatican council which the Pope had summoned for April was held, and investiture and the doing of homage for ecclesiastical preferments had been forbidden, suddenly the assembly was electrified by the poet[3] Ragnerius, bishop of Lucca. "From the world's most distant boundary," he thundered forth, "there is one amongst us here . . . whose very silence is a thousand tongues, and his humility and patience as grand and as eloquent in God's esteem as

Vatican council, 1099.

[1] Ead., *H. N.*, l. ii. p. 111.
[2] *Cf.* Ead., *in vit.*, cc. 36, 37.
[3] *Vide supra*, vi. p. 261.

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they are meek and gentle in our own. There is one here, I say, whose afflictions have reached the utmost verge of cruelty, whose wrongs the utmost bounds of injustice. Robbed of all he has, there is one here come to invoke the justice and equity of the Apostle's See in his behalf. It is more than a year since he first came to Rome, and what help has he got? If you do not all know whom I mean, it is Anselm, archbishop of the English land."[1] Despite the splendid indignation of the bishop, the synod had to rest content with the Pope's assurance that good counsel should be taken on the matter.

Death of Urban and Rufus, 1099, 1100.

On the conclusion of the council Anselm obtained permission to return to Lyons. Whilst there news reached both Anselm and Rufus that Urban was no more (†July 29, 1099). "May he who cares for that be hated of God," was the unfeeling remark of Rufus. "But what sort of man," he added, "is the new Pope?" Told that in some respects he resembled Anselm, he coarsely exclaimed: "By God's Face, then he is not of much account. But let him keep himself to himself; for, by this and that, he shall not come his papacy over me. I have won my liberty, and I will do as I like."[2] Within a year he was lying dead in the New Forest with an arrow through his heart.

SPAIN.

The capture of Toledo.

Whilst England, under the profligate and tyrannical hand of the Red King, was moving rapidly on the down grade, the Christian countries of Spain were expanding their frontiers, consolidating their kingdoms, and, especially by the aid of the monks of Cluny, elevating their peoples. Alfonso VI., the energetic ruler of the united kingdoms of Castile and Leon (1074–1109), had in 1085 reconquered from the Moors the important city of Toledo,

[1] Ead., *H. N.*, l. ii. p. 113. Rule's trans. [2] Ead., *ib.*, p. 116.

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the old ecclesiastical centre of the country, after it had been lost to Christendom for about 370 years. Thanking God and the king's exertions for this happy result,[1] Urban proceeded to co-operate with Alfonso in settling the ecclesiastical affairs of his kingdom. To occupy the recovered See of Toledo, there was chosen by the clergy, people, and king, one Bernard, a monk of Cluny[2] (1086). In due course the new bishop went to Rome for his pallium.[3] Not only did Urban willingly bestow that upon him, but he also made him primate of Spain,[4] and exhorted the king to hearken to his words,[5] and the bishops, saving the authority of the Roman Church and the rights of individual metropolitans, to refer all disputed questions to him as to their primate.[6] All the rights which the

[1] Ep. Urb., 6.

[2] "Voluntate et consensu unanimi comprovincialium populorum, pontificum atque principum, et Ildefonsi excellentis regis." *Ib.* *Cf.* Roderick of Toledo, *Hist.*, vi. c. 24.

[3] *L. P.*, *in vit. Urb.* Bernard returned to Rome in 1099. He appears to have been accompanied or followed by one who had been his rival or was his bitter enemy, and who, for convenience sake, is called Garsias, a canon of Toledo. This man while in Rome wrote a gross, bitter, and disgracefully profane satire, which goes by the name of *Tractatus Garsiæ . . . de Albino et Rufino*, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, ii. 425 ff. His description of Bernard (c. 7) is enough to show his feeling towards that prelate. He introduces Urban, whom he dubs "most avaricious," as seated on a marble throne, most gorgeously clad in purple, and surrounded by a number of very fat cardinals, four of whom are supporting an enormous golden goblet full of the best wine, out of which he is inordinately drinking. He makes him move about in royal raiment and precious skins, in gilded chariots and in the midst of scents and pomp generally. "Vere beati quia multas potationes passi estis propter justiciam." It is a worthy predecessor of the scurrilous sheets against the Pope which disgust the traveller in Italy of to-day.

[4] Ep. 5, to Bernard, an. 1088. "In totis Hispaniarum regnis primatem privilegii nostri sanctione statuimus."

[5] Ep. 6, to the king.

[6] Ep. 7, to the archbishops of Spain. Ep. 8 tells Hugh of Cluny how for his sake he received Archbishop Bernard, and restored to him the old privilege of the See of Toledo. *Cf.* Jaffé, 5643.

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Church of Toledo had ever possessed were to be restored to it as the country should in the course of time be won back from the Moors.[1]

The bishop of Compostela.

But, as we have seen already, Alfonso was not always prepared to conform to papal ideas of what was right and wrong in ecclesiastical matters. Diego Pelaez,[2] who had been made bishop of Compostela under Sancho II. of Castile in 1070, was imprisoned by Alfonso in 1088, "on account of his deserts" (*suis exigentibus meritis*). What those deserts were we are not told; we can only conjecture that they were political, as we are informed that he was so wrapped up in the affairs of the world that his spiritual duties suffered in consequence. That the Church of Compostela might not suffer by being without a bishop, Alfonso caused Diego to appear before a council which Cardinal Richard, abbot of St. Victor at Marseilles, was holding at Fuselli. In fear of the king, and hoping to be released from prison, the poor bishop declared himself unworthy of the episcopacy, and placed his crosier and ring in the hands of the cardinal. Following the king's nomination,[3] the cardinal consecrated Peter, abbot of Cardena, to succeed the unfortunate Diego, who was sent back to prison (1088).

[1] With ep. 5 *cf.* Jaffé, 5801.

[2] The story of Diego I. rests, for the most part, on the *Historia Compostellanæ ecclesiæ* (ap. Florez, *España Sag.*, t. xx.; or *P. L.*, t. 170), which, at the instigation of Diego II., the first archbishop of Compostela, was written in the beginning of the twelfth century. Extracts from the *Historia* concerning Diego are given ap. *P. L.*, t. 151, p. 267 ff. The *H. C.*, i. 2, notes that in the time of Diego "apud Hispanos lex Toletana obliterata est et lex Romana recepta." The *lex Toletana* was undoubtedly the Mozarabic liturgy, and the *lex Romana*, which replaced it, the liturgy of Rome. *Cf.* the testimony of Lucas, bishop of Puy, *Chron. Mundi* to 1236, ap. Labbe, *Concil.*, xii. p. 483.

[3] He is stated to have acted "communi consilio sapientum virorum Hesperiæ." *H. C.*, i. 3, p. 277.

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It was not long before word of this unfeeling treatment of a bishop reached Rome. Urban was very indignant, and in the very letter in which he congratulated Alfonso on his capture of Toledo, he reminded him that the two great powers in the world were the sacerdotal and the royal; but that the former was the more important, seeing that it had to give an account of kings themselves to the King of kings. Alfonso was therefore pressed to restore Diego to his dignity through the archbishop of Toledo, and then with his own envoys to send him to Rome to be canonically tried.[1]

This letter does not seem to have effected much, so that an interdict was laid on the diocese,[2] and another legate, in the person of Cardinal Rainerius (afterwards Pascal II.), was dispatched to supersede Richard,[3] and to examine into the affair afresh. At a council held at Leon, Peter, after two years' rule, was "justly and canonically deposed because he had been promoted to so great a dignity without the consent of our holy mother, the Roman Church" (1091).[4]

Dalmatius is made bishop.

A whole year elapsed before an agreement could be come to about the filling of the see, as the king would not yield with regard to Diego. Rome at length suggested that a new bishop altogether should be chosen. To this

[1] Ep. Urb., 6, 1088. [2] *L. P., in vit. Urb.*

[3] *Cf.* ep. 280, in which Urban tells Bernard, the primate of Toledo, that he has taken legatine authority (*legationem*) from Richard; that till another legate is appointed he must exercise his office of primate with more than ordinary diligence; and that he must strive for the restoration of Diego to his bishopric. Ep. 280 is wrongly dated in Migne. It is evidently of the year 1088, or the beginning of 1089.

[4] *Hist. Compost.*, i. 3, p. 268. Rainerius was already in Spain in 1089, holding a council at Toledo. *Cf.* the historical notes at the end of ep. 17, and epp. 29 and 30, an. 1089, which are letters of instruction from Urban to the new legate, whom he exhorts "ever to be mindful of the Roman authority, so that no suspicion of thee can arise."

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Alfonso agreed, and with the consent (*consilio*) of the clergy and people, there was consecrated for the vacant see one Dalmatius, a monk of Cluny, whom its abbot had sent to visit the monasteries of north Spain, which depended upon it.[1] Unfortunately, the new bishop only lived long enough to attend the council of Clermont, and there to obtain the privilege of his see[2] from Pope Urban. He died eight days after his return from the council (1095).[3]

Thinking this was his opportunity, Diego Pelaez, who had been liberated from prison, betook himself to Rome, and contended that he had been unjustly deposed. The case dragged on for years.[4] When at length the envoys of Alfonso arrived in Rome, they found that Urban was no more, and that the legate Rainerius whom they had known was Pope Paschal II. Thoroughly understanding the case, he at once decided that Diego was unworthy of the bishopric.[5] This he duly notified to Alfonso and to the bishops of the province of Compostela, bidding them elect a bishop, and send him to him for consecration.[6] Diego Gelmirez, who had in the meantime administered the see, and was destined to be one of its most famous or notorious occupants, was elected its bishop. He was ordained subdeacon by Paschal.[7] Owing, however, to the

[1] *H. C.*, i. 5, p. 269. "Auctori S. R. Ecclesiæ . . . Dalmacium . . . fecerunt episcopum."

[2] He and his successors were to be subject only to Rome. "Concedimus ut tam tu quam tui successores, nulli præter Romano metropolitano subjecti sint." Ep. 166.

[3] "Octo dies durat quod nos dolor ejus adurat" quaintly observes the *H. C.*, i. 6, p. 269.

[4] The *H. C.*, i. 7, *ib.*, says four. It is not easy to adjust the dates relating to this affair.

[5] "Dictante justitia." *Ib.*, p. 270.

[6] Epp. Pasch., 4 and 5, an. 1099, December, ap. *P. L.*, t. 163.

[7] *Ib.*, ep. 10.

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troubles that the Moors were causing the Church in Spain, the Pope did not insist on his return to Rome to be made bishop, but authorised his consecration in Spain.[1]

Raymond Berenger II. cedes his territories to Urban, 1091.

The influence in Spain exercised by Pope Urban II. was really most remarkable; and it was exercised not only in the spiritual, but in the temporal order as well. Moved "by the love of God," as he sets forth himself, and urged, as he also specifically states, by the desire of keeping himself independent of such ambitious princes as Alfonso VI., Raymond Berenger II., count of Barcelona (1076–1093), placed the whole of his dominions, and especially the city and district of Tarragona, which he had just reconquered from the Moors, under the suzerainty of the Pope (1091). "I, Berenger, count of Barcelona," he inscribed, "moved by the love of God, have given to Him, to the Prince of the Apostles, the most blessed Peter, and to his vicar, the *apostolicus* of the Roman See, all my hereditary possessions[2] . . . and I especially give him in God's name the city of Tarragona, with all that pertains or ought to pertain to it, in such wise that I and all my successors hold everything from the hands and voice of St. Peter and his vicar, the *apostolicus* of the Roman See, paying (in token thereof) a tax of twenty-five pounds of the purest silver every five years. . . . I also wish to have this deed ratified that the

[1] *Ib.*, epp. 25 and 26. *Cf.* epp. 41–44. On this affair of Diego Pelaez, see *Hist. eccles. de España*, by V. de la Fuente, iv. p. 18. The *Life* of D. Gelmirez is known to us by the *Historia Compostelana*, ap. Florez, *España Sagrada*, vol. xx., or *P. L.*, t. 170. It was written under the eye of Gelmirez, and is simply a panegyric of him. It was drawn up between 1100–1140 by three French authors, Archdeacon Hugh (afterwards bishop of Portugal), Munio, who became bishop of Mondoño, and Gerald, a canon of the cathedral. Though a most fulsome panegyric, it is, both from its style and contents, one of the most interesting and lively documents of its age. But, from its very nature, it is, of course, far from being the most reliable.

[2] "Omnem meum honorem qui mihi competit ex jure paterno." See Berenger's donation ap. *Lib. Cens.*, ed. Fabre, i. 468 f.

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aforesaid dominions may never pass to the power of another, but that only I myself and my successors may ever hold them from the hands of the Princes of the Apostles, Peter and Paul, and of his vicar, the Lord Urban II., and his successors canonically ruling the See of Peter. This offering I make to God . . . for the remission of my sins and those of my father Raymond . . . by the advice of my bishops and nobles,[1] and by the hand of Rainerius, cardinal of the Roman Church, who is now filling the office of legate in our territories."[2]

The letter of Pope Urban is extant in which he accepts this donation, transfers Berengarius of Ausona (Vich) to the See of Tarragona, grants him the pallium, and exhorts him by his words and example to win the Moors to the faith.[3]

The king of Aragon gives to and receives from the Pope.

But Barcelona was not the only kingdom of Spain that was subject to the temporal jurisdiction of Urban. Following in the footsteps of his father and grandfather, who, for the same reasons as the counts of Barcelona,[4] had subjected

[1] Their names are given in the charter.

[2] The donation was repeated by Raymond Berenger III. (1093–1131), the *Consolidator of the Realm*, to Paschal II. That Pontiff, after congratulating him on his successes against the Moors in the Balearic Isles and elsewhere, writes: "Personam siquidem tuam et uxoris tuæ, ac filiorum vestrorum, et honorem vestrum . . . per decretum præsentis paginæ, sub triginta morabatinorum censu annuo in b. Petri et ejus sedis apostolicæ tutelam suscipimus." Ep. 470, an. 1116, ap. *P. L.*, t. 163.

[3] Ep. 52, or ap. *Lib. Cens.*, i. 467 f. In another letter (ep. 20) he exhorts the lords spiritual and temporal of the province to devote themselves to the restoration of the See of Tarragona rather than to going on pilgrimages. "Et civitas eadem Saracenorum opposita populis in murum." *Cf.* Jaffé, 5674.

[4] His father, Sancho. "Romani pontificis se ipsum dominatui subdiderit . . . ut . . . peccatorum suorum vestra purgaretur absolutione, atque ad universa adversantia protectione vestra tutior permaneret." See a letter of Peter I. to Urban, ap. Fuente, *op. cit.*, iii. 522 f. Sancho also imposed Peter's Pence on all his subjects. Jaffé, 5398.

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themselves to the suzerainty of the Popes, Peter I. (1094–1104) reaffirmed their donation of Aragon to Urban, and their annual tribute of "500 golden aurei."[1] But at the same time he begged Urban to prevent the bishops of his kingdom from interfering with the monasteries and churches which had been placed under the special jurisdiction of the Popes, "that they might enjoy greater freedom." He also complained that the bishops were attempting to take from his nobles, when they were fighting against the Moors, the non-parochial churches, with their tithes, which were on their estates and belonged to them. In his reply to this complaint of the king, Urban granted to the king and his nobles the rights of patronage over such churches as they might capture from the Saracens, or over such as they might build themselves, provided that they were properly administered.[2]

Urban, the refounder of the Church of Spain.

Leaving out of our consideration the large extent of Christian Spain over which Urban was temporal suzerain, we may well assert that he refounded the church in that country. We have seen him name the archbishop of Toledo its primate;[3] he also appointed him his legate in Spain.[4] He subjected certain sees[5] and monasteries[6] to the exclusive jurisdiction of the See of Rome; he altered the sites of episcopal cities, and regulated the boundaries of different dioceses,[7] and founded new bishoprics.[8] He rearranged the boundaries of the dioceses because they

[1] Ep. Petri, *l.c.*, or, as it is expressed in the corresponding papal letter, "quingentos Jaccensis monetæ mancusos aureos." Jaffé, 5552. *Cf. ib.*, 5398 (4033 *a*).

[2] Ep. Urb., ap. Fuente, *op. cit.*, iii. 520 ff. The authenticity of this letter has been called in question; but it is declared to be above suspicion by Fuente, *l.c.*, p. 376.

[3] *Cf.* also ep. 64.

[4] Jaffé, 5643.

[5] To the examples already cited add that of Burgos, ep. 201.

[6] Ep. 18. [7] Ep. 135. [8] Ep. 287.

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had become utterly confused, as he pointed out,[1] "partly by the oppression (*tyrannide*) of the Saracens, and partly by civil war (*diversorum regum incursibus*)." By his labours in thus organising and unifying the Church in Spain, Urban should ever rank as one of the great benefactors of that country. Everything which made for Christian unity was a factor in the great work of the expulsion of the Moors from Spain.

DENMARK.

Eric III. of Denmark visits the Pope, 1095.

About the close of the year 1096,[2] Urban was visited by one who must have been regarded by him with no little curiosity. His visitor was Eric III. of Denmark, surnamed Eiegod, or the Ever-good (1095–1103), the son of Sweyn II. Estrithson, one of the correspondents of Gregory VII. When the Pope, a man of no mean stature himself, looked on the Danish king, he saw a man taller by head and shoulders than the great men of the North, a man of such strength that even when seated he could throw a spear further than the most skilled soldier when standing up, and, when in the same position, could overthrow and bind any two men who attacked him. A voice, both powerful and sweet, rendered his eloquence irresistible, and so well educated was he that he needed no interpreter when

[1] *Cf.* a letter of Urban, published for the first time by Fita, ap. *Boletín de la R. acad. de la Hist.*, June 1894, p. 546. *Cf.* epp. 2, 3, 4, *ib.* Ep. 3 shows him investing Garsia, bishop of Burgos, with a ring.

[2] Saxo distinguishes two journeys of Eric to Rome. Now the second took place in 1098; hence the first would probably be at the end of 1096, or the beginning of 1097, when Urban was in Rome. The principal authorities for the doings of Eric III. are Saxo Grammaticus, *Hist. Dan.*, l. xii. p. 400 ff., and the *Knytlingasaga*, the work of an unknown layman writing in the second half of the thirteenth century, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxix. The latter, in his account of Eric, quotes the poem of Mark Skeggisson, the Law-speaker of Iceland from 1084–1108. This poem has been published by Vigfusson and Powell in their *Corpus Poet. Boreal.*, ii. 236.

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passing through the different countries on his way to Rome.[1] Had it not been for a very regrettable ancestral weakness for women, he would have been an almost flawless monarch.

On some charge unknown to us, Liemar, the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen, the ecclesiastical chief of the whole North, thought fit to excommunicate the king of Denmark. Regarding the sentence as unjust, Eric made his way to the Pope, and appealed against it. After a careful examination of the case, Urban annulled the excommunication,[2] and Eric returned to Denmark to reflect on the hierarchical arrangement that brought him under the jurisdiction of a bishop subject to a power often hostile to himself. He decided to push a request which his predecessors had already made, viz. that Denmark should have a metropolitan of its own.

Eric's second visit to Rome, 1098.

He accordingly retraced his steps to Rome.[3] In the quaint language of the Icelandic poet: "It shall be told how the king went the long path to Rome to win a share in its glory." Passing by "the fenced land of refuge" (Venice), he made his way to Bari,[4] where he found Urban in October 1098. The Pope listened favourably to his request, and promised to grant it,[5] but died before he could give effect to his promise.

Paschal II. makes Lund a metropolitan see, 1104.

But Eric had no thought of letting the matter drop. His envoys reminded the successor of Urban of that

[1] Saxo, pp. 400–401 ; *Knytlingasaga*, p. 285.

[2] "Cause sue examine diligencius habito, pontificis accusacionem potenter reppulit, cunctisque defensionis partibus actore superior rediit." Saxo, p. 403.

[3] "*Romam regressus*, tum se, tum eciam patriam ac domestica sacra Saxonica prelacione liberari petivit." *Ib.*

[4] *Knytlingasaga*, *l.c.*

[5] "Ea promissorum spe regem a se exhilaratum dimisit." *Ib.*, p. 404.

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Pontiff's promise. Paschal immediately dispatched to the North a legate, who, after a careful inspection of the cities of Denmark and their bishops, finally decided that Lund should be the new metropolitan see. Though Lund was in Skaane (Sweden), it was subject to Denmark. The legate made choice of Lund, both because it was a fine city and easy of access, "both by land and sea," and also on account of the excellent character of its bishop, Asterus. He, moreover, subjected Norway and Sweden, with Iceland and Greenland, to the new metropolitan, who received his pallium in the year 1104. "Denmark," concludes Saxo, "owes no little to the kindness of Rome, which both gave it liberty and gave it dominion over other nations."[1]

Eric accompanies Urban to Rome.

After the close of the council of Bari, Eric accompanied the Pope and "visited the halidoms (relics, etc.) in Rome; he adorned the rich shrines with rings and red gold; he went with weary feet round the realm of the monks (Rome) for his soul's good. . . . Our spiritual state is the better by his adventure. . . . The Pope, Christ's friend, granted all that he asked of him."[2]

[1] Saxo, *l.c.*, p. 406. "Hoc anno (1104) missum est pallium Ascero . . . a Paschali Papa." *Annal. Lundenses*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxix.

[2] The poem of Skeggisson.

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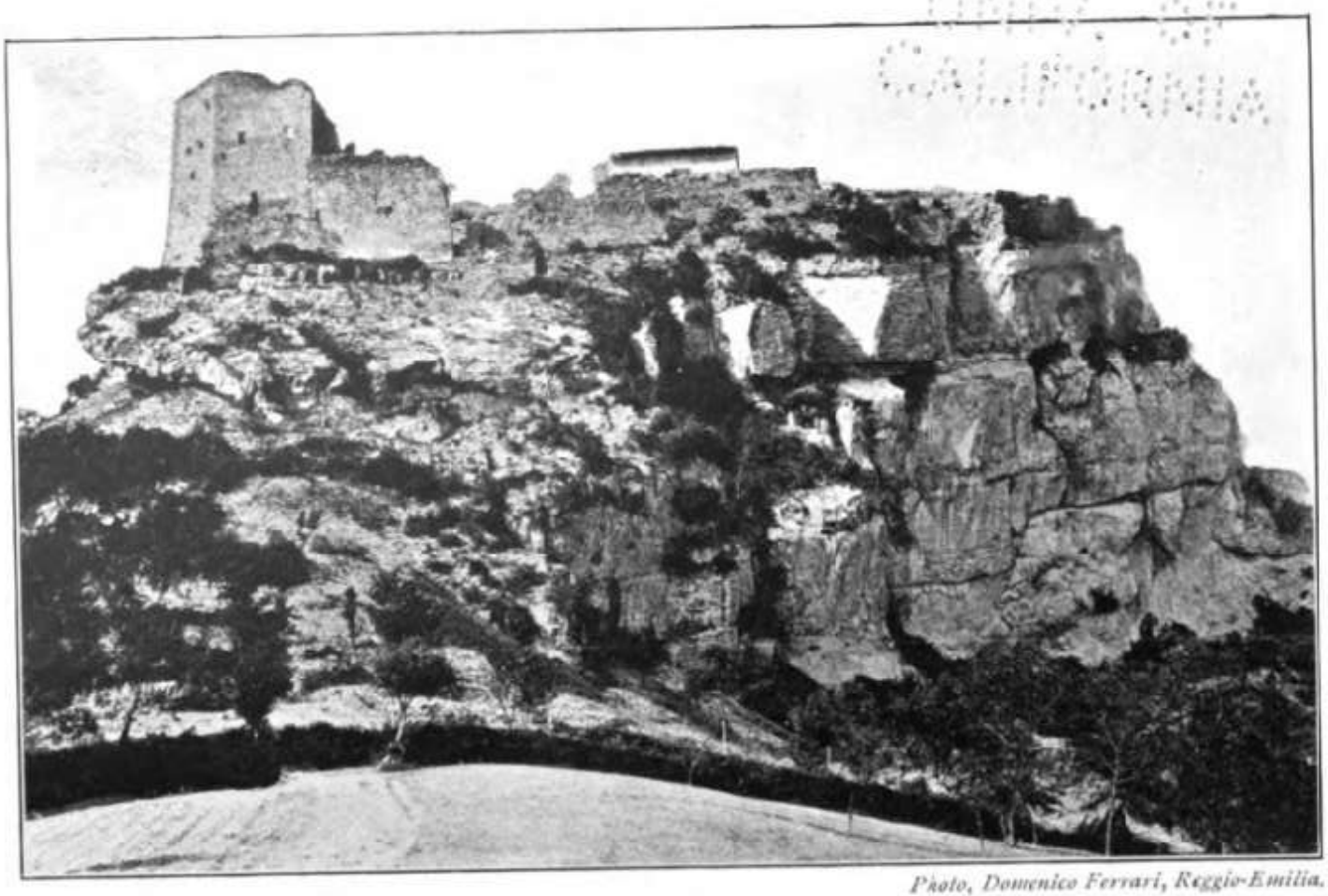

Photo, Domenico Ferrari, Reggio-Emilia.

Castello di Canossa.

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APPENDIX.

(See p. 118.)

A FEW words more on the chronology and topography of the Canossa incident from the point of view of some other writers may be of advantage, as certain points in both have not yet been quite cleared up. It has been supposed, with some probability, that Henry appeared in sight of Canossa on January 22, that he met his friends at Bianello, one of the four sentinel-castles of the great fortress itself, and that the interviews mentioned on page 118 which he held with them took place in the castle's "great hall, where traces of a fresco-portrait of Matilda yet remain."[1] These interviews and the negotiations with Gregory that accompanied them are reckoned to have occupied three days. It was on the third day that Henry made the final appeal to his friends which ended in Matilda's going to Gregory and obtaining from him a promise that he would see the king.[2] This appeal is said by Donizo to have been made in the chapel of St. Nicholas.[3] Now it has been already noted that no trace of such a chapel is to be found at Canossa, and hence it is conjectured that the chapel referred to is the comparatively well-known one "attached to the neighbouring castle of Montezane," and not one within the walls of the castle.[4]

The result of Matilda's appeal to Gregory was that, according

[1] Duff, *Matilda*, p. 153.

[2] *Supra*, p. 120.

[3] "Cumque dies starent per tres pro pace loquentes,
Et pax non esset, Rex atque recedere vellet,
Capellam sancti petit idem Rex Nicolai."

Donizo, ii. 1.

Cf. N. Campanini, *Canossa, Guida Storica*, Reggio-Emilia, 1894.

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to Donizo, he consented to receive Henry "seven days before January ended," *i.e.*, on January 25.[1] Those who hold the ideas we are here expounding, now suppose that Gregory did not actually interview Henry on that day, but simply permitted him to come within the second wall of the castle, and for three days to do penance whilst craving for admission to his presence. Then, as Lambert of Hersfeld asserts, on the fourth day (January 28) the Pope accepted Henry's submission, and absolved him from excommunication.[2]

If, then, the authors in question cannot be said to have strictly proved their contentions, some good reasons have certainly been adduced by them why it should be believed that the chapel of St. Nicholas was not within the walls of Canossa, and that Henry's three days' penance was preceded by three days' negotiations.

[1] "Ante dies septem, quam finem Janus haberet,
Ante suam faciem concessit Papa venire
Regem."

Ib.

[2] In support of this point of chronology, it may be noted that the document containing Henry's promises to the Pope is dated January 28.

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